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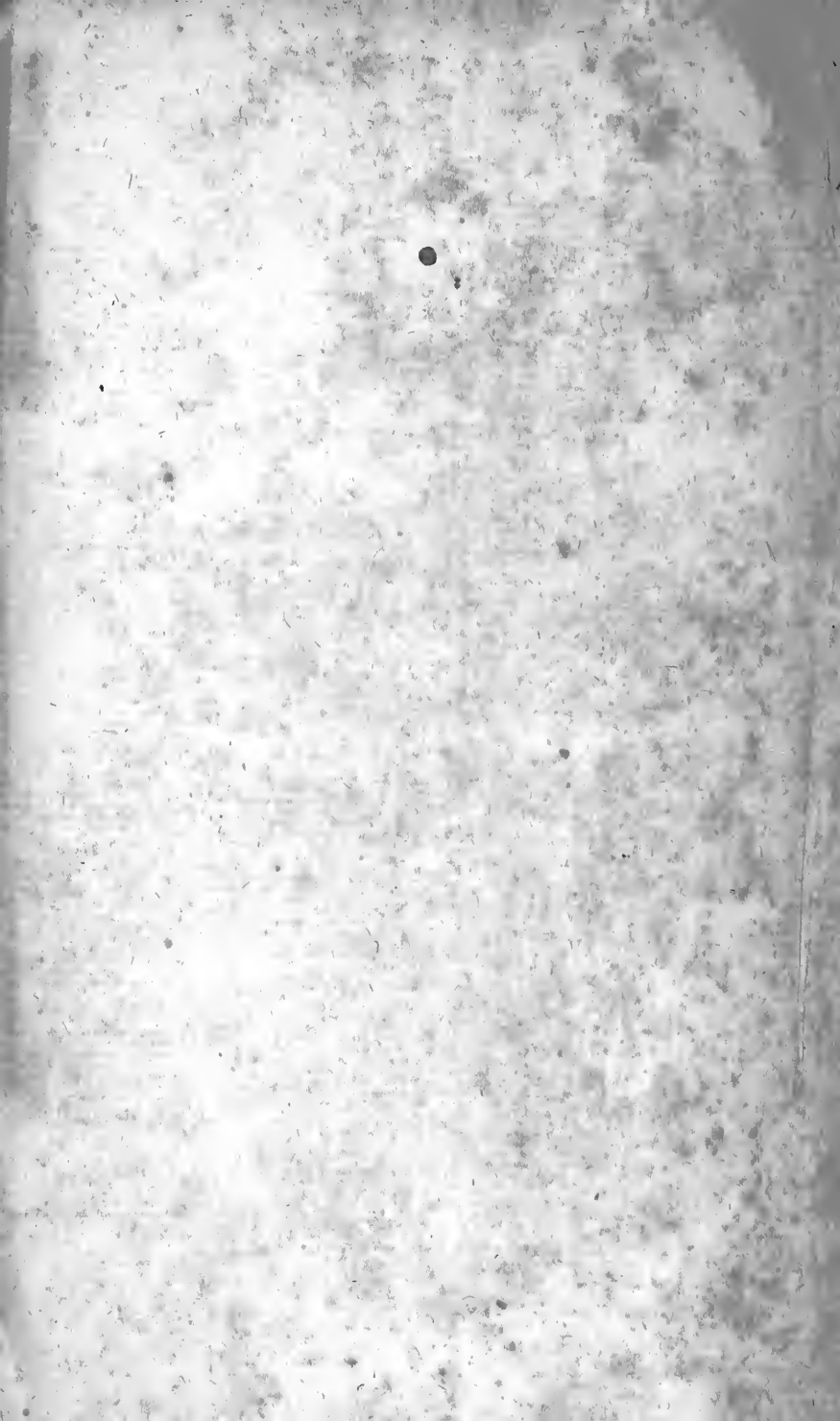
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ADAMS

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Vol. V.







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John Adams

MEMOIRS

OF

GREAT BRITAIN

AND

IRELAND.

FROM THE

Dissolution of the last Parliament of CHARLES II.
until the Sea-Battle off LA HOGUE.

VOLUME THE SECOND.

Consisting chiefly of

LETTERS from the French Ambassadors in England, to their
Court; and from Charles II. James II. King William and
Queen Mary, and the Ministers and Generals of those Princes.

Taken from the

Dépôt des Affaires étrangères at VERSAILLES, and King WILLIAM's
private Cabinet at KENSINGTON.

Interspersed with Historical Relations, necessary to connect
the Papers together.

By Sir JOHN DALRYMPLE, Bart.

Ne quid falsi dicere audeat, ne quid veri non audeat. CICERO.

DUBLIN:

Printed by the Executors of DAVID HAY, Assignee
of the late BOULTER GRIERSON, at the King's
Arms in Parliament-Street. 1773.

MEMORANDUM

TO THE SECRETARY OF THE ARMY

FROM THE CHIEF OF THE BUREAU OF MILITARY INTELLIGENCE

SUBJECT

RE: [illegible]

ADAMS 28.4
v. 2

P R E F A C E.

THE papers contained in this collection are so very interesting, that the public has a right to know from what sources they are drawn.

His Majesty gave orders that I should have access to the cabinet of King William's private papers at Kensington; justly considering history to be the science of kings, and willing that the actions of other princes should be tried by that tribunal of public enquiry, which, he trusts, will do honour to his own.

Among many other papers in that cabinet, which throw a blaze of light upon the history of the last age, there are about two hundred letters from King James to the Prince of Orange. There is one considerable chasm in the correspondence, but this is luckily filled up by about fifty letters from the king to the prince, in the possession of doctor Morton of the Museum, who, with his usual politeness, permitted me to take copies. I believe that in these two collections there is not one letter wanting that King James ever wrote to the Prince of Orange.

The earl of Hardwicke, from a partiality to me which I cannot be so affectedly modest as to conceal, gave me copies of several curious manuscripts from the treasures of historical knowledge in his possession.

The earl of Dartmouth communicated to me, with other papers, a collection of letters between his gallant ancestor and King James, which, with memoirs of Bing, lord Torrington, in manuscript, that I received from lord Hardwicke, will, I believe, throw a new light upon the share which the officers of the fleet had in the revolution, and of the wise and honourable part which the commander of it acted.

Mr. Graham of Netherby was so obliging as to permit me to keep in my hands, for many months, five volumes of his ancestor lord Preston's dispatches.

The reverend doctor North gave me the use of a variety of manuscript memorandums, written by his ancestor, lord keeper Guildford; one of the very few virtuous characters, in public life, I am sorry to say it, that are to be found in the history of the reign of Charles the second.

Lord Rochford accommodated me with orders for copies of whatever public papers I wanted. For, attached to his prince, and a friend to that liberty, the love of which is inherent in the family of Nassau, he wished to see justice done to a revolution, in the conduct of which his ancestor acted so able a part; and which, by making the people safe, gave room for loyalty to the prince to become a virtue in the subject.

I have been obliged for papers to several other persons, whose names will be seen when the papers are recited.

But,

But, perhaps, the person to whom I owe the greatest obligations of all, is doctor Douglas, canon of Windsor; because he made me master of the use of those materials, which others only furnished. I know that he, who sees all mens merits but his own, will impute this avowal to the partiality of a friend: and when he does, he will flatter me greatly.

Notwithstanding these advantages, I still felt an uneasiness, which only those who are intent upon a literary pursuit, can form any idea of; at not being able to discover the causes of many of the irregular movements of Charles the second and his parliaments: For which reason I fulfilled, last summer, the promise I had made two years ago to the public, and went to France, as soon as I heard monsieur Durand was returned from his ministry at Vienna, to try if I could find those causes in the dispatches of the French ambassadors who had been in England during that reign. The duc d'Aiguillon, with that liberality of sentiment which becomes the minister of an illustrious nation, and from respect to lord Rochford and lord Harcourt, who had recommended me to him, renewed the order which the duke de Choiseul had formerly honoured me with, for copies of whatever papers I wanted. Perhaps, for the sake of that philanthropy, which is the first of human pleasures, I have reason to repent of my curiosity. But I will not anticipate the reader's pain; he will see too soon, in reading the following papers, the mean motives which actuated the prince, his ministers, and, at different periods, the whig, and the tory alike.

Monfieur Durand will permit me to thank him in public, for treating me in all my researches at Versailles, rather with the kindness of a friend, than with the civility which associates in the cause of letters are accustomed to expect from each other.

From comparing the notes which I took in France, with the copies of the papers sent me from thence, I find, in some instances, a difference in the dates between us, owing, probably, to my oversight; but in all other respects, the copies agree with the notes.

In the notes to the first volume, there are many papers referred to, which are in public libraries or public offices. I have not printed these, because the curious may have access to them in those places.

I am happy to hear that there is a probability of Mr. Jernegan's soon printing the late Mr. Carte's notes, from King James's papers in the Scotch college at Paris, and that the originals of these notes are to be secured, at his death, to the university of Oxford; because they will vouch such facts in the first volume, as there are no vouchers for in this. The public cannot get a more important accession to the historical knowledge of the period to which they relate.

Some of the following papers contradict facts contained in the first volume; the truth of which I believed on the credit of other publications. This would be a mortification, if truth, according to the best of my abilities to find it out, was not my first object. Whoever corrects the relations of history, by the private letters of those
who

who were the actors of the times, will learn, at every step that he advances, to distrust the opinions of others and his own.

However disagreeable this publication may be to the descendants of many of those mentioned in it, the extent of which I fully feel, because I have the honour to live in friendship with several of them ; I flatter myself it will be useful to this country now, and to posterity afterwards, in the following respects :

1st, The discoveries made in these papers will lead men in public life to reflect, that however they may hope to hide their want of public virtue, in a pretended attachment to the interests either of loyalty or of liberty, the day of reckoning will sooner or later come, when, in the historic page, their true characters, and motives of action, will appear. But men, acting in free states, cannot have too many terrors hung out to controul them ; because, in such states as the virtues of men are greater than in others, so likewise are their vices.

2dly, The papers will show that when a king of England does not give a generous credit to the affections of his subjects, and the people of England do not put an honourable confidence in their prince, both king and people must be unhappy and inglorious. Perhaps too, this reflexion may arise from the perusal of them, that the defences which the friends of liberty do not scruple sometimes to throw around her, are more dangerous to her interests than all the assaults of her enemies.

3dly, Although the present exaltation of England, above all other nations, justifies a contempt of the supposition of other nations meddling at present in her domestic concerns; yet should this situation ever alter, posterity may learn, from these papers, that the prince who intrigues with foreigners against his people, does it at the peril of his crown; and that when the subjects intrigue with foreigners against their prince, they stake their liberties on the cast.

4thly, Which I mention with pain, this publication will show that there is no political party in this country which has a right to assume over another from the merit of their ancestors; it being too plain, from the following papers, that whigs and tories, in their turns, have been equally the enemies of their country, when their passions and their interests misled them.

And lastly, which I mention with pleasure, these papers will prove, far better than has ever hitherto been done, that the revolution was not a work of expediency only, but of absolute necessity; and that all parties, whig, tory, churchman, and dissenter, alike united in the great and generous effort to save that blessed constitution, which by *their* dangers *we* enjoy.

Perhaps a perusal of the following papers may be of use even to that foreign nation to whose politeness I am indebted for so many of them. There is much reason to believe, that French intrigue and French money, first fomented those religious commotions in Scotland, which, in the reign of Charles the first, were the true springs and causes of the civil war in
England.

England. The following papers will show, that by French intrigue and French money, the opposition of the whig party in parliament to Charles the second was supported. Yet the disturbances in the first of those periods, by giving liberty to England, and in the last of them, by keeping the spirit of it alive, laid the foundation of a grandeur, which has since proved so fatal to that nation which created them. France encouraged James the second in all his follies about arbitrary power and popery; but this gave the throne of England, and the command of one half of Europe, to her mortal enemy. After the revolution, she often tried to rouse Scotland against England; but this only taught both countries to make their interests inseparable, and their strength double, by the union. In our day, in attempting to pull down the house of Austria, she raised up a more formidable opponent to herself; in creating disturbances against England in America, she lost regions as large as one half of Europe; and in extending those disturbances in Asia, she paved the way for the enemy whom she meant to annoy, to gain a kingdom as rich, as extensive, and as populous as her own. A mischievous nation is like a mischievous man, both may make all their neighbours uneasy for a while, but both will be the dupes of their own mischief in the end. It is fortunate for the interests of human nature, and for those of the people I speak of, composed as they are, of an ingenious and industrious commonalty, and of a learned and gallant gentry, that they have at last changed their system, and do not any longer consider their own happiness to consist in making all their neighbours unhappy.

In

In a country in which the passions of every individual are strong, because his spirit is high, and in which all take a side in politics, because all ought to take it, I presume that those who do not like me, or some of the following letters, will do me the honour to say that they are published with party views: If this be so, I am certainly a very unfortunate party man, and this a very unfortunate party book; because I am not sure that I shall gain either of the two great parties in this kingdom; and if they judge with less candour than I have done, I am afraid I shall lose both: yet one side will permit me to assure them, that when I found in the French dispatches lord Russel intriguing with the court of Versailles, and Algernon Sidney taking money from it, I felt very near the same shock as if I had seen a son turn his back in the day of battle.

C O N T E N T S

OF THE

S E C O N D V O L U M E.

REVIEW of EVENTS after the RESTORATION.

LETTERS from Charles II. to the dutchess of Orleans; from monsieur Rouvigny and monsieur Colbert to the French court; and between Louis XIV. and Charles II. concerning the first secret money treaty with France, concluded in the year 1670, by the Popish ministers of King Charles, for his declaring himself a Roman Catholick, and the destruction of Holland, together with a draught of the Treaty; Page 1—82.

Letters from monsieur Colbert and the duke of Buckingham to the French court, concerning the second secret money treaty with France, concluded in the year 1671, by the protestant ministers of Charles II. for the destruction of Holland, with the secret article of that treaty, unknown to his protestant ministers, for the king's popery; P. 82—95.

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Letters from monsieur Colbert to his court ; and other papers, which mark the characters and conduct of the prince of Orange, the duke of York, lord Sunderland, the cabal, and King Charles ; with secret history during the second Dutch War, and the conclusion of the peace between England and Holland ; P. 95—119.

Letters from monsieur Rouvigny to the French court, concerning the third secret money treaty with France, in the year 1676, whereby Charles obliged himself to enter into no treaty without the consent of Louis, and to prorogue or dissolve his parliament ; P. 119—132.

Letters from Monsieur Courtin and monsieur Barillon to the French court, concerning the fourth secret money treaty with France, in the year 1677, whereby Charles obliged himself to prorogue his parliament ; with the artifices of Charles to get more money after the treaty was concluded ; P. 132—142.

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Letters from monsieur Barillon to the French court, concerning the differences which the Prince of Orange's marriage created between Louis and Charles ; P. 150—155.

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Letters from monsieur Barillon to his court ; and from the duke of York and lord Danby to the Prince of Orange, concerning the distractions in parliament which followed these intrigues ; P. 172—190.

Letters

Letters from monsieur Barillon to the French court, and Charles II. to Louis XIV. concerning an intended secret money treaty with France, in the year 1678 ; and shewing the intrigues by which Charles, who meant to dupe France, was duped by her in the peace of Nimeguen ; together with letters from the duke of York to the Prince of Orange at that period ; P. 190—235.

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Letters from Mr. Montagu and monsieur Barillon to the French court, concerning the intrigues of Barillon with the popular party ; P. 310—325.

Letters from monsieur Barillon and the duke of York to the French court ; and from the Prince of Orange to Sir Leoline Jenkins, concerning the intrigues of France, the court of Charles, the dukes of York and Monmouth, and the Prince of Orange, during the two last parliaments of Charles II. ; together with Charles's last secret money treaty with France, in the year 1681, which enabled him to act without parliaments during the rest of his reign ; P. 330 to the end.

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A very particular detail of Charles's last hours, by monsieur Barillon ; P. 110—122.

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Letters from monsieur Barillon to his court, upon James's accession to the crown, which shews that James's very first views were to settle arbitrary power and popery ; and also his traffic for money with France ; P. 122—138.

Letters from King James, lord Rochester, and Barillon, concerning attempts to reconcile the king and prince at the beginning of the new reign ; P. 138 to the end.

A P P E N D I X

T O

Sir John Dalrymple's Memoirs

O F

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

R E V I E W

O F

EVENTS AFTER THE RESTORATION.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

PHYSICS DEPARTMENT

1950-1951

PHYSICS 101

LECTURE NOTES

BY

JOHN H. VAN VLEET

PHYSICS DEPARTMENT

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

CHICAGO, ILL.

1951

PHYSICS 101

LECTURE NOTES

BY

JOHN H. VAN VLEET

PHYSICS DEPARTMENT

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

A P P E N D I X.

R E V I E W

O F

EVENTS AFTER THE RESTORATION.

THE Papers in my possession concerning the events of Charles the Second's reign, prior to the dissolution of his last parliament, relate to three distinct periods of time. The 1st is from the downfall of lord Clarendon's ministry in the end of the year 1667, to the time of the Prince of Orange's marriage in the year 1677. During this period, King Charles, the duke of York, and their ministers, formed connexions with France of the most dangerous nature to the religion and liberties of the subject. The 2d period is from the Prince of Orange's marriage until the downfall of lord Danby's ministry in the year 1679. During this period, Charles wavered between Holland and France, the duke of York continued steady in his course, and the popular party in parliament formed connexions with France against their Princes, of a tendency almost as dangerous as those which the Princes had formed against their subjects. The last is from the downfall of the earl of Danby's ministry until the dissolution of Charles the Second's last parliament. During this period, Charles renewed his connexions with France, the popular party continued theirs, and France, by a train of policy perhaps the deepest that is to be found in history, intriguing with both, triumphed upon their common disgraces. I shall therefore divide the papers into three chapters relating to these three periods.

From the perusal of them an English reader may draw this instructive lesson ; that the wisest thing a King of England can do is to respect the interest of his people, and the wisest thing the people of England can do is to respect that of their Prince.

C H A P. I.

First period, from the downfall of lord Clarendon's ministry in the end of the year 1667, until the marriage of the Prince of Orange in the year 1677.

CHARLES the Second, from the natural gayety of his temper, and his residence in France, had contracted a love for the people and even government of that country, and an aversion to the Dutch, which had influence upon his political conduct through almost the whole of his reign. From his father's misfortunes and his own, he had also been fatally taught to think, that he had an interest separate from that of his people ; and this led him into connexions with France, which he kept secret from his people, and often even from his ministers.

In the *Depot des affaires etrangeres* at Versailles, I found some of his letters to the dutchess of Orleans, which mark his personal antipathy to the Dutch. One of them, which could hardly have been expected from a royal hand, follows.

Charles the II^d to the Dutcheß of Orleans.—Indecent to the Dutch.

Whitehall, 27 Feb. 1669.

I AM sorry that my lord Hollis has asked justice upon a point of honour that I should never have thought of : you know the old saying in England, the more a T. is stir'd the more it stinkes, and I do not
care

care a T— for any thing a Dutch man sayes of me, and so I thinke you have enough upon this dirty subject, which nothing but a stinking Dutch man could have been the cause of, but pray thanke the King my brother and desire him not to take any kinde of notice of it, for such idle discources are not worth his anger or myne. I have been all this day at Hamptoncourt, and 'tis so long since I have been a horse back, as with this smale dayes journey I am weary enough to beg your pardon if I say no more now but that I am yours.

A paper at Versailles, entitled, “Memoire présenté au Roy par Monf. de Rouvigny, au retour d’Angleterre,” of which a copy shall be immediately subjoined, shows, that before the triple alliance, Charles had made several attempts to a league with France; and other French papers, to be printed in a different part of this appendix, will show the same thing.

Upon entering into the triple alliance, Charles wrote the following apologies to his sister and Louis the XIVth.

Charles the III^d to the Dutchess of Orleans.——Makes an apology for the triple alliance.

Whithall, 23 Jan. 1668:

I BELEEVE you will be a little surpris'd at the treaty I have concluded with the States, the effect of it is to bring Spaine to consent to the peace upon the terms the King of France hath avoued he will be content with, so as I have done nothing to prejudice France in this agreement, and they cannot wonder that I provide for my selfe against any mischises this warre may produce, and finding my propositions to France receave so cold an answer which in effect was as good as a refusall, I thought I had no other way but this to secure my selfe. If I finde by the letters that my Ld. St. Albans is come away, I do intend to send somebody

In the Depot a Versailles.

elfe into France to incline the King to accept of this peace : I give you a thousand thanks for the care you take before hand of James, * I will answer for him that he will be very obedient in all your commands, and your kindness to him obliges me as much as 'tis possible, for I do confesse I love him very well, he was I beleieve with you before your last letter came to my hands. You were misinformed in your intelligence concerning the Desse of Richmond, if you were as well acquainted with a little fantastical gentleman calld Cupide as I am, you would nether wonder nor take ill any sudden changes which do happen in the affaires of his conducting, but in this matter there is nothing done in it. I do not answer Monsieurs letter by this post, because I have not yett spoken with M. de St. Laurens to whom the letter refers me, so I shall only desire you to remember me very kindly to him, and be assured that I am intierly yours.

*Copie d'une Lettre du Roi d'Angleterre au Roi, du 3
fevrier, 1668.*

In the *Depot* at
Versailles.

MONSIEUR mon frere. La conjoncture presente des affaires ne me permettant pas de deliberer plus longtems à prendre parti, j'ai choisi celui que je croyois plus conforme à ce que je dois au repos de la Chrétienté, en me joignant avec les Etats généraux des Provinces unies pour faire la paix entre vous et le Roi Catholique monsieur mon frere, en quoi je ne dois croire vous avoir fait une chose désagréable, puisque nous nous sommes convenus de vous proposer la dite Paix sur des conditions que vous aviez plusieurs fois témoigné de vouloir accepter, et plus expressément dans votre dernière lettre du 27me du mois passé, dans laquelle (ayant eû la bonté de me faire part de la marche que vous alliés faire dans la Franche Comté) vous vous déclarés que quelqu'en puisse être le succès, vous ne

* Monmouth.

laisserés

A P P E N D I X.

laisserés pas d'accepter les condition susdites ; sacrifiant ainsi vos intérêts particuliers à la tranquillité publique, qui est un sentiment fort généreux et digne de vous. J'ai chargé le Chevalier Trevor, Gentilhomme de ma chambre privée, que je dépêche en France en qualité de mon envoyé extraordinaire, de vous expliquer plus au long mieux là dessus, et le desir que j'ai d'exécuter le traité que j'ai fait avec tous les égards possibles à votre satisfaction, en quoi vous lui donnerés, s'il vous plait, entiere créance, et plus particulièrement quand il vous entretiendra de l'inviolable amitié laquelle je desire de vous continuer en toutes occasions, comme

Monfieur, mon frere,
votre bon frere,

(Signé) CHARLES.

Translation of a Letter from the King of England to Louis the XIVth, dated the 3d February, 1668.—To the same purpose.

SIR, My Brother,

THE present posture of affairs not permitting me to deliberate a long time what part to take, I have chosen that which I thought most conformable to what I owe to the repose of Christendom, and have joined the States General of the United Provinces to bring about a peace between you and the Catholick King my brother, in which I believe I have not done a disagreeable thing to you, as we have agreed to propose the said peace upon the conditions that you have often expressed yourself willing to accept, and more expressly in your last letter of the 27th past, in which (after having been so good as to communicate to me your intended march into the Franche Comté) you declare, that whatever the success may be, you still were willing to accept the beforementioned conditions ; thus sacrificing your private interests to the public good. A most generous sentiment and worthy of you. I have

A 4. ordered

ordered the Chevalier Trevor, *a gentleman of my bed-chamber*, whom I have sent to France in quality of my envoy extraordinary, to explain matters to you more at large, and the desire I have to execute the treaty I have made, with every possible regard for your satisfaction; to whom, if you please, you will give entire confidence, and more particularly when he assures you of the inviolable friendship which on all occasions I wish to preserve as,

Sir, my brother,

your good brother,

(Signed) CHARLES.

Charles the Second to the Dutcheſs of Orleans.—Sir John Trevor ſent to Paris about the triple alliance.—The King's-kindneſs for his ſiſter.

Whithall, 4 Feb. 1668.

In the Depot at
Verſailles.

I Have diſpatched this bearer Sir John Trevor into France as my envoyé extraordinary with power to negotiate the peace betweene the two crownes according to the treaty I lately made with the ſtates of the united provinces, I have given him orders to communicate all things with that freedom to you as I ought to do haveing that kindneſſe for you which I cannot in words ſufficiently expreſſe, I hope he will not finde his worke difficulte, ſince I preſſe nothing but the conditions of peace which the King of France offered to agree with Spain upon, Monſr. de S. Laurens will part from hence in two or three dayes, by him I will write more to you, and ſo I am intierly yours.

The triple alliance againſt France was ſigned on the 23d Jan. 1668, and on the 24th day thereafter, the dutcheſs of Orleans and the duke of Buckingham entered into an intrigue for a ſecret treaty with France. On this head there is the following letter to her in the duke's hand-writing at Verſailles.

The

*The Duke of Buckingham to the Dutcheſs of Orleans.—
The beginning of the intrigue of the ſecret treaty with
France in the year 1669.*

De Londres ce 17^{me} de fevrier, 1668.

VOUS devés excuſer ce porteur ſ' il a demeuré ici trop long tems, puisſque ce n'a pas été ſa faute. In the Depot at
Verſailles.
J'avois ſouhaité de vous envoyer avec lui un homme capable de traiter notre affaire, mais il m'a été impoſſible, et je vous avoue que je prévois aſſés de difficultés à trouver une perſonne qui ſait la langue, qui a été verſé dans les affaires et en qui je m'oſe conſier : néanmoins je ferai tout mon mieux pour en venir à bout, et ſerai très faché ſi n'oſant vous envoyer Leighton, et ne pouvant trouver un autre, je ſerai réduit à la néceſſité d'entrer en matiere ici avec Mr. l'Ambaſſadeur, puisſqu' aſſurément par ce moyen l'affairé tiera plus de longue. J' ai été chez lui, comme vous me l'avez ordonné, et lui ai dit que vous m'avies commandé de lui communiquer toutes choſes, mais que je ne l'oſois faire ſans la permiſſion du Roi mon maitre, et que pour cette raiſon, je lui priois de vous en demander pardon de ma part. J' ai auſſi brûlé votre petit billet, et vous ſupplie de croire que je n' ai d'attachement au monde que celui de vous obéir.

Pour l'amour de Dieu ne vous impatientés point, et conſiderés, que dans les lieux où il y a des meſures à prendre pour gagner la bonne volonté du peuple, on ne peut pas agir avec tant de promptitude que l'on voudroit.

Translation.

London, 17 Feb. 1668.

YOU muſt excuſe the bearer if he has ſtaid here too long, becauſe it has not been his fault. I was deſirous to have ſent along with him a man capable of treating upon our affair, but that was impoſſible, and

and I own to you that I foresee difficulties enough in finding a person who knows the language, and that is versed in business, in whom I can confide; nevertheless I will do every thing in my power to accomplish it, and shall be very sorry, if not daring to send Leighton to you, nor capable to find another, I must be reduced to the necessity of entering into the matter with the Ambassador here, as it will greatly lengthen the affair.—I have been with him as you ordered me, and told him that you commanded me to communicate every thing to him, but that I did not dare to do it without the King my master's leave, and for this reason I desired him to ask your pardon on my part. I have also burnt your note, and beg you will believe that the strongest desire I have in this world is to obey you.

For the love of God don't be impatient; and consider that in a place where every measure must be taken to gain the good will of the people, one cannot act with so much dispatch as might be wished.

It is observable of this letter that Buckingham avoids an intercourse with the French Ambassador, which had probably been thought expedient by the dutchess, and this is frequently repeated in the French correspondence on this head. The reason was, he wanted to reserve all the honour of the treaty to the dutchess and himself.

In the summer of the year 1668, Charles frequently renewed the attempt to a treaty with France. But France seems to have stood off, distrusting his sincerity. On this subject there is at Versailles the following letter and the following memorial from Monsieur Rouvigny.

Lettre

Lettre de Monfr. de Rouvigny au Roi, du 21 Mai, 1668.

Sire,

LE Roi d'Angleterre et Monfr. le Duc d'York *In the Depar.* continuent à me témoigner qu'ils feroient bien aise de faire une liaison très étroite avec votre Majesté. Le premier m'entretint hier assez long tems sur ce sujet, et après m' avoir parlé de votre Majesté avec admiration, il me dit qu'il voudroit bien faire un traité avec elle de gentilhomme à gentilhomme, et qu'il préféreroit votre parole à toutes les parchemins du monde. Je lui répondis qu'il ne pouvoit pas douter de l'estime et de l'affection que votre Majesté avoit pour lui et pour ses intérêts, après tant de témoignages qu'il en avoit reçus depuis que j'etois près de sa personne; que de son côté on y avoit si peu répondu, que je favois bien que cette conduite vous avoit donné quelque défiance; mais que je ne doutois pas que s'il vouloit me déclarer ses sentimens pour vous en informer, que votre Majesté n'y fut très sensible. Il y a apparence que ceci ira plus avant; c'est pourquoi je supplie très humblement votre Majesté de m'envoyer ses instructions là dessus, et de me faire savoir si elle trouvera bon que j'aille la trouver lorsque je le jugerai à-propos pour son service, sans attendre une autre permission pour faire ce voyage; car peut être que l'on pourra me faire ici une grande confidence.

Le Roi d'Angleterre voit fort souvent et avec soin Mad. le Duchesse de Richemont, laquelle est fort incommodée d'un de ses yeux, qui a été blessé de la petite verole. Cette Majesté ne laisse pas de voir tous les jours Mad. de Castelmene, qui n'est plus qu'une bonne amie, laquelle s'applique à faire valoir son bien, et à meubler une maison que son maitre lui a donnée.

(Signé)

ROUVIGNY.

Translation.

Translation.

A Letter from Monsr. de Rouvigny to Louis the XIVth, dated May 21, 1668. — Charles and the duke of York make advances to France.

Sire,

THE King of England and his highness the Duke of York continue to assure me they will be extremely glad to enter into the strictest union with your Majesty. The first discoursed me yesterday a long time upon the subject, and after having spoke of your Majesty with admiration, he told me that he would willingly make a treaty with you as between gentleman and gentleman, and that he preferred your word to all the parchment in the world. I answered him, that he could not doubt of the esteem and affection your Majesty had for him and his interests, after so many proofs as he had received since I had been near his person: that on his part he had so little answered thereto, that I knew very well this conduct had given you some mistrust; but that I did not doubt, if he would declare his sentiments to me, in order that I might inform you of them, your Majesty would be very sensible of them. In all appearance this will go farther; for which reason, I most humbly beg your Majesty to send me instructions thereupon, and inform me if you approve of my waiting upon you whenever I may judge it necessary for your service, without waiting any other permission to make the journey, for perhaps they may put a great deal of confidence in me here.

The King of England often sees, and even seeks occasion to see the Dutchess of Richmond, who is extremely ill of one of her eyes, which was hurt by the small-pox. His Majesty does not let a day pass without seeing Madam Castlemaine, who is no more than a common friend, wholly employed in encreasing her

her fortune, and furnishing a house that her master has given her. (Signed) ROUVIGNY.

Memoire presente au Roy par Mr. de Rouvigny, au retour d'Angleterre. — Mr. de Rouvigny estoit arrive en France le 3 Juillet, 1668.

DANS tous les derniers entretiens que j'ai eûs avec le Roi d'Angleterre, je ne l'ai jamais vû persister dans les mêmes sentimens ; il m'a toujours témoigné qu'il avoit une forte passion de se lier étroitement avec le Roi, connoissant qu'il n'y avoit rien qui lui fût plus avantageux, ni plus nécessaire pour le bien de ses affaires ; mais il a souvent changé de pensée pour les manieres. Quelque tems devant que la paix se fit, il m'a dit par plusieurs fois, qu'il avoit un grand desir de faire une forte union avec la France, mais qu'il falloit l'aider, parcequ' il y avoit beaucoup de gens près de lui qui n'étoient pas de cet avis. Que pour lui il n'avoit jamais été sans cette inclination, que je le savois mieux que personne, et que je n'en pouvois pas douter, après les choses qu'il m'avoit dites lorsque je pris congé de lui au dernier voyage que j'ai fait en Angleterre. Et sur ce que je lui repondis, que le Roi n'avoit pas moins d'envie que lui pour faire cette union. Il me dit qu'il estoit nécessaire que le Roi fit des avances, que c'étoit à lui à parler le premier, et que sans cela il ne pourroit jamais persuader les personnes qui n'étoient pas de son opinion. Sur quoi je lui répartis, que je ne savois aucune raison qui pût obliger le Roi à parler le premier, si ce n'est l'affection et l'estime qu'il avoit pour lui, que par cette raison il l'avoit fait assez souvent depuis que j'étois en Angleterre ; mais qu'on y avoit si mal répondu, et qu'il s'en étoit si mal trouvé, ayant vû imprimées dans un livre de Lifola des propositions qu'il m'avoit fait faire pour la gloire et pour l'avantage de l'Angleterre, que je ne croyois pas qu'il voulût cy après se commettre à de pareils accidens ; que sans cela j'étois assuré que le Roi

ne balanceroit pas à parler encore le premier là dessus comme il avoit déjà fait, n'ayant rien diminué de l'af-
fection qu'il a de s'unir d'interêt avec lui, ne voulant
par s'amuser à des façons qui étoient fort éloignées de
son humeur, et qui souvent par la perte du tems rui-
noient les affaires. Après ces discours réitérés par
plusieurs fois, le dit Roi m'a dit assez souvent ; laissés-
moi faire, je vous parlerai au premier jour. Depuis
la paix faite il m'a recommencé les mêmes discours, sur
quoi je lui ai repeté les mêmes choses. Et nos entre-
tiens ne finissoient qu'avec une esperance qu'il me don-
noit de me dire quelque chose en confiance, dont je
serois content. Le duc de York souhaite fort cette
union, le duc de *Boug* de même ; ils ne font point les
fins, et disent qu'il n'y a que cela de bon pour rétablir
les affaires de cette cour. Ils en ont souvent parlé au
Roi d'Angleterre, mais il en est détourné par M. B. C.
qui, étant conseillé par *Lilola*, lui a dit tems en tems
qu'il y alloit de son honneur s'il entroit le premier en
matiere, et que ce seroit le moyen de ne rien faire. Il
n'oseroit pas dire à son maitre qu'il ne faut pas faire
cette liaison ; au contraire il avoue qu'elle est bonne,
mais il lui dit que le Roi ne la veut pas ; et que s'il la
vouloit, il ne feroit jamais la difficulté de faire la pre-
miere proposition, qui en ce cas là ne manqueroit
point d'avoir un bon succès : il tombe d'accord du fond,
mais il le détruit par la forme. Le Roi d'Angleterre
m'a fait toutes ces repliques : enfin, après d'autres con-
versations, il s'est moqué de ce point d'honneur, et il
m'a fait connoître qu'il seroit bien fâché si on le croyoit
capable d'une si grande foiblesse ; qu'il avoit toujours
la même passion de se lier avec le Roi, et la même
connoissance que son amitié lui étoit bien utile ; que
ce n'étoit pas ce point d'honneur qui l'empêchoit de
parler le premier, ce que seroit une pensée bien chi-
mérique, mais seulement le grand préjudice qu'il re-
cevrait dans son etat, vû la présente constitution, si
le Roi ne prenoit pas bien ses propositions ; que les
ayant faites, on pourroit aussitôt les faire savoir aux
Hollandois,

Hollandois, et même s'en servir pour l'avantage des intérêts de la France au prejudice des siens. Sur quoi je lui ai répondu, que ce qu'il me faisoit l'honneur de me dire en confiance ne tiroit a nulle consequence, parceque n'étant pas son sujet, et ne m'ayant donné aucune lettre de créance, il pourroit me desavouer toutes les fois qu' il lui plairoit, en cas qu'il vît qu'on en abusoit ; et que je le pouvois assurer, ce qu'il savoit bien aussi, que le Roi mon maitre n'étoit pas capable d'abuser de sa confiance, et d'employer de pareils moyens, qui étoient indignes de sa générosité, et fort contraires à son humeur. Il me dit là dessus, qu'il ne savoit pas desavouer une chose qu'il auroit dite. Et il me demanda en suite, si l'on n'avoit pas proposé à Vanbuning de partager les Pays bas en cas de la mort du Roi d'Espagne. Je lui dis que je n'en saurois rien quand cela seroit véritable, qu'il n'étoit pas difficile de voir que cette nouvelle sortoit de la boutique de Lisola ; mais qu'elle ne pouvoit être vraie par beaucoup de raisons, dont je ne lui en dirois qu' une seule, qui étoit, que j'avois souvent oüi dire au dit Vanbuning, que ses maitres aimeroient mieux que tous les Pays bas Catholiques fussent entre les mains du Roy d'Espagne, que d'en avoir fait le partage avec sa Majesté, dont ils craignoient terriblement le voisinage. Après cela le dit Roy m'a encore demandé si le Roi étoit libre, et en état de faire une ligue offensive et defensive ; que si cela étoit ainsi, et que sa Majesté eût dessein de conclure un bon traité, il pouvoit me répondre de l'événement et d'un succès tel qu'il plairoit au Roi. En fin, après le dernier entretien que j'ai eû avec le Roi d'Angleterre, il m'a dit, qu'il m'avoit si souvent assuré de la passion qu'il avoit de se lier étroitement d'amitié et d'intérêt avec le Roi, qu'il n'étoit plus nécessaire de m'en parler ; mais qu'il lui restoit pour marque de sa franchise de me dire une chose, qui étoit, que le soupçon et la defiance ayant empêché jusqu' ici cette liaison, et pouvant encore faire la même chose à l'avenir, il croyoit qu'il falloit commencer par les détruire ;
que

que pour cet effet, après y avoir pensé, il n'avoit pas trouvé un meilleur moyen que celui ci, à savoir, que les deux Rois s'engageassent réciproquement de ne rien faire cy après sans la participation, ni sans le consentement l'un de l'autre ; que ce seroit poser un bon fondement sur lequel on pourroit travailler avec loisir et avec sûreté à une bonne alliance, laquelle ne pourra être trop forte à son grê, étant en état, et n'y ayant rien qui puisse l'empêcher de faire une ligue offensive et défensive avec la France, envers tous et contre tous. Que si le Roi vouloit agir avec le même esprit qui lui, il repondroit toujours du secret et d'un bon succès; que c'étoit la pensée de Mr. le duc d'York et de toutes les personnes qui composent son conseil, lesquelles n'avoient point d'autres sentimens que les siens, qu'il me prioit d'en assurer le Roi, et de lui dire de sa part, que s'il vouloit s'engager de son côté, comme il étoit prêt de s'engager du sien, de ne rien entreprendre ni de faire à l'avenir aucune négociation ni aucun traité l'un sans l'autre, que sans doute on pourroit conclurre bientôt après et fort facilement une union, qui jusqu' ici n'avoit été empêchée que par la défiance.

Le lendemain après cet entretien j'en fis la relation au du de Bouguingham, de laquelle il me témoigne recevoir une grande satisfaction ; mais 24 heures après il me dit que la chose étoit changée, et que le Roi son maître étoit revenu sur la difficulté de parler le premier ; ce qui m'obligea de mettre par écrit tout ce que le Roi d'Angleterre m'avoit dit le 18 Juin, afin de lui faire lire, et de savoir de lui si ce n'étoient par les mêmes choses qu'il m'avoit fait l'honneur me dire. Cette Majesté me dit que je n'avois rien changé à son discours, mais qu'il desiroit que je ne dise pas au Roi ces choses là de sa part, mais seulement qu'il me les avoit dites, et qu'il consentoit que je les dise à sa Majesté comme m'ayant été confié, et n'étant pas fâché m'expliquer ses pensées. Sur quoi je lui demandai s'il en étoit encore sur le point d'honneur ; il me répondit que non ; mais qu'il craignoit que les Hollandois ne fussent bien-
tôt

tôt avertis de cette proposition, si je la faisois de sa part. Je l'ai vû trois fois depuis, étant toujours dans ce même sentiment, et la dernière fois que j'ai pris congé, il me recommanda fort de dire que ces dernières paroles étoient les pensées de son cœur, qu'elles m'avoient été dites en grande confiance.

M. B. C. lui a dit, que le Roi prétendoit à la monarchie universelle, et qu'il falloit couper les ailes aux gens qui vouloient voler trop haut.

Translation.

Memorial presented to the King by Mons. de Rouvigny at his return from England. Mons. Rouvigny arrived in France July 3. 1688.—Charles had solicited a treaty with France before the triple alliance, and presses for it immediately after.

IN all the last conversations I have had with the King of England, I have never found him continue in the same way of thinking. He has always expressed to me a strong desire to unite himself more strictly with the King, well knowing that nothing can be more advantageous, nor more necessary for the benefit of his affairs; but he has as often changed his thoughts with regard to the manner. Some time before the peace was made, he often told me that he had a great desire to enter into a strict alliance with France, but it was necessary he should be assisted, because there were a great many people about him of a different way of thinking. That as to himself, he had always had this inclination; that I knew it better than any body, and that I could not have the least doubt of it, after the things he had told me when I took leave of him the last time I was in England. Upon which I answered, that the King had not a less desire than him to compleat this union. He told me it was necessary the King should make the advances; that it was his part to speak first, without which it would never be in his power to

B

persuade

persuade those persons who differed with him in opinion. On this I reply'd, that I knew no other motive that could oblige the King to speak first, but the affection and esteem he had for him, and for this reason he had already done it often enough since I was in England; but they had answered it so badly there, and he had been so ill-used; having seen printed in a book of Lifclaus some proposals which he had made through me for the glory and advantage of England, that I did not believe he would hereafter expose himself to such accidents; that without this, I was assured the King would not hesitate still to speak first as he had already done, seeing the desire he had to unite interests with him was nothing diminished, and that he was unwilling to amuse himself with ceremonies which were so widely different from his humour, and which often by the loss of time were the ruin of affairs. After these reiterated discourses, the said King has often enough said to me, Leave it to me, I will speak to you the first opportunity. Since the peace he has renewed the same discourse to me, and I have repeated the same things. Our conversations always finished with his giving me hopes that he would say something to me in confidence, with which I should be satisfied. The Duke of York very much wishes for this union, as does the Duke of *Boug* (i. e. Buckingham); they put on no hypocrisy, and say there is no other good method to re-establish the affairs of this country. They have often spoke to the King of England upon it, but he is hindered by M. B. C. who, being advised by Lifclaus, tells him from time to time that his honour is concerned if he enters first into the affair, and that it will be the means of nothing being done. He dares not tell his master that he should not make this alliance; on the contrary, he owns it to be a good one, but he says the King (i. e. of France) is not for it; and that if he was, he would have no difficulty in making the first proposal, in which case it would not fail of having a good success. He agrees upon the whole,
but

but destroys it through form. The King of England gave me all these answers : in short, after some other conversations, he laughed at this point of honour, and gave me to understand, that he should be very sorry if he was believed capable of so great a weakness ; that he had always the same desire to unite himself with the King, and the same knowledge that his friendship would be very useful to him ; that it was not this point of honour that hindered him from speaking first, that was a very chimerical thought, but only the great prejudice he should receive in his state, considering its present constitution, if the King should not take his proposals well ; that having made them, they might be also made known to the Hollanders, and even used to the advantage of the interests of France, and the prejudice of his own. On which I reply'd, that what he did me the honour to say to me in confidence led to no consequence, because I not being his subject, and not having any credential letter from him, he might at any time be pleased to disown me, if he saw me abuse it ; and that I could assure him, what he also well knew, that the King my master was not capable of abusing his confidence, nor of employing such like means, which were unworthy his generosity, and very contrary to his humour : He thereupon told me, that he was not able to disown a thing he had once said. Afterwards he asked me, if it had not been proposed to Vanbuning to divide the low countries in case of the King of Spain's death. I told him I knew nothing of it, though it should be true ; but it was not difficult to see that this news came from Lisola's shop : that it could not be true for many reasons, of which I would only mention one, which was, that I had often heard it said by Vanbuning, that his masters would rather wish the whole Catholick Low Countries were in the hands of the King of Spain, than to have them divided with his Majesty, whose neighbourhood they terribly feared. After which the same King asked me, if the King was at liberty, and

in a condition of making an offensive and defensive league ; that if it was so, and his Majesty had a design to conclude a good treaty, he could answer to me for the event, and such a success as would please the King. In short, after the last conversation I had with the King of England, he told me, that he had so often assured me of his ardent desire to unite himself strictly in friendship and interest with the King, that it was unnecessary to speak any more upon it : but that it remained for him as a mark of his freedom to tell me one thing, which was, that suspicion and diffidence having till now hindered this union, and the same things being liable to happen again, he believed the best way to begin was by destroying them ; that to this end, after having thought of it, he could find no better means than this ; to wit, that the two Kings should reciprocally engage to do nothing for the time to come without the participation and consent of each other : that this would be laying a good foundation on which they might work with leisure and safety to form a good alliance, which, according to his inclinations, could not be too strong, considering his condition, and that there was nothing to hinder him to make an offensive and defensive league with France, towards all and against all. That if the King would act with the same spirit as himself, he would always answer for secrecy, and for a good success. That the Duke of York and all who composed his council were of the same way of thinking, and had no other sentiments than his. That he desired me to assure the King of it, and to tell him that if he would engage on his part, as he was ready to do on his, not to undertake or make, for the time to come, any negotiation or treaty, one without the other, it was beyond a doubt they might soon after very easily conclude an union, that hitherto had been only prevented through diffidence.

The day after this conversation, I communicated it to the Duke of Buckingham, who expressed great satisfaction ;

faction; but 24 hours after he told me the thing was changed, and that the King his master had returned to the difficulty of speaking first; which obliged me to put in writing all that the King of England had said to me on the eighteenth of June, to the end he might read it, and I know from himself whether it did not contain the same things he had done me the honour to mention to me. His majesty told me, that I had changed none of his discourse, but he desired I would not relate these things as from him to the King; but only that he had said them to me, and that he consented I should tell them to his Majesty as matters trusted to me, and which he was not displeased I should explain as his thoughts. Upon which, I ask'd him if he still harp'd upon the point of honour; he answered no; but that he feared the Dutch would be soon after informed of this proposal, if I made it on his part. I have seen him three times, since, and still found him in the same way of thinking. The last time I took leave of him, he recommended it strongly to me to say that the last words were the thoughts of his heart, and that he had said them to me in great confidence.

M. *BC* has told him that the King pretends to universal monarchy, and that it is necessary to clip the wings of those who would soar too high.

From the above memorial and letter it appears, that, instead of France drawing Charles into the secret alliance to defeat the triple alliance, as has been commonly thought, Charles drew France into it.

It appears also from the memorial, that Buckingham misrepresented his master's sentiments, to prevent the treaty from going into the French Ambassador's hands.

These letters about the triple league do also great honour to the memory of Sir William Temple, who formed it in five days, and who was not ignorant that there was a French interest at work with his master. Vide Sir William Temple's letters in Jan. 7, 1668.

When the French court came to listen seriously to Charles's proposals for a secret treaty, Buckingham was dropped, and the correspondence passed through the hands of the Dutcheſs of Orleans, who had infinite beauty and talents, and whom it was known to the French court Charles loved to extravagance, as appears from many letters in the *Depot* at Versailles to the French court from their ambassadors in England. In one of these letters Colbert says, that her influence over him was remarked by all, that he had wept often when he parted with her, and that whatever favour she asked for any one was granted.

There are the following letters on the subject of an alliance with France from King Charles to her in the *Depot* at Versailles.

Charles the II^d to the Dutcheſs of Orleans.——Impatient with the delays of France about the treaty.

In the *Depot*.

Whithall, 19 Jan. 1669.

I HAVE received yours of the 20, and you have reason to wonder that you have been so long without hearing from me, but I have had nothing to say, and it has been so colde heere as it did not invite one to write nothing, and I did not write to you by Bonneford because I thought he would be long upon the way with his horses. I shall not say much to you because Rouvigny will be dispatched in two or three days, and by him you will heare at large from me, only I cannot chuse but observe to you now, that I see that Monfr. Comminges does not all good offices there, by foretelling my intentions in as ill a sence as he uses to doe, and my Ld. Hollis writes something to me about giving commissions to the citty of Bremen, which the K. my Brother says he will be satisfied in, before he goes on with our treaty, which is so great a dreame to me, as I know not from whence this fancy proceeds, except it be from Monfr. de Comminge, who I am confident you will finde in the end, hath done

done me as many ill offices, as hath Jayne in his power to do, and I do wonder that after the advances I made by C. Barckly I should find the treaty go on slower than it did, my Ld. Hollis haveing receaved not yett an answer to his last paper, which is now almost two monthes agoe. After all this when Rouvigny returnes you shall find my minde not changed, but that I will be as sincere in that matter as I promised you to be; and if there be any thing altered in my condition since we first talked of this matter it is for the better; and so good night, for 'tis late.

Charles the IId to the Dutcheffs of Orleans.—He has wrote to Louis the XIVth; enjoins secrecy; is undetermined what to agree upon.

Whithall, 20 Jan. 1669.

YOU will see by the letter which I have written In the Depot. to the King my brother, the desire I have to enter into a personall friendship with him, and to unite our interest so for the future as there may never be any jealousies betweene us. The only thing which can give any impediment to what we both desire, is the matter of the sea, which is so essential a point to us heere, as an union upon any other security can never be lasting, nor can I be answerable to my kingdomes if I should enter into an alliance wherein their present and future security were not fully provided for: I am now thinking of the way how to proceede in this whole matter which must be carried on with all secrecy imaginable, till the particulars are farther agreed upon: I must confesse I was not very glad to heare you were with childe, because I had a thought by your making a journey hether, all things might have been adjusted without any suspicion, and as I shall be very just to the King my brother in never mentioning what has past betweene us, in case this negociation does not succede as I desire, so I expect the same justice and generosity from him, that no advances which I make out

of the desire I have to obtaine a true friendship be-
 tweene us, may ever turn to my prejudice. I send you
 heere inclosed my letter to the King my brother, de-
 siring that this matter might passe through your handes
 as the person in the world I have most confidence
 in, and I am very glad to finde that Monsr. de Tu-
 rene is so much your frinde, who I esteeme very much,
 and assure my selfe will be very useful in this negoti-
 ation. I had written thus farr when I received yours
 by the Italian, whose name and capacity you do not
 know, and he delivered your letter to me in a passage
 where it was so dark as I do not know his face againe
 if I see him, so as the man is likely to succcede when his
 recommendation and reception are so suitable to one
 another. But to returne to the businesse of the letter,
 I assure you that there is no league entered into as
 yett with the Empereur : the only league I am in is
 the garanty I am ingaged in with the Hollanders up-
 on the peace at Aix, which is equally bindeing to-
 wards both the crowns : I think Mr. de Lorene de-
 serves to be punished for his unquiet humour, but I
 wish the King my brother do not proceede too far in
 that matter, least he gives a jealousy to his neighbours
 that he intends a farther progresse than what he de-
 clared at first, which might be very prejudiciall to what
 you and I wish and endeavour to compasse, and you
 shall not want upon all occasions full informations ne-
 cessary ; but we must have a great care what we write
 by the post, least it fall into the hands which may hin-
 der our designe, for I must again conjure you that the
 whole matter be an absolute secret, otherwise we shall
 never compasse the end we aime at. I have not yet ab-
 solutely contrived how to proceede in the businesse, be-
 cause there must be all possible precautions used, that it
 may not eclat before all things be agreed upon, and pray
 do you thinke of all the wayes you can to the same
 end, and communicate them to me. I send you heere
 a cypher wich is very easy and secure, the first side is
 the single cypher, and within such names I could thinke
 of

of necessary to our purpose. I have no more to add but that I am entierly yours. K.

Charles the II^d to the Dutcheſs of Orleans.——Has made the first advances, and waits for an answer.

Whithall, 9 Feb. 1669.

I MUST in the first place aske your pardon for In the Depot. having miſt ſo many poſts : the truth of it is, what between buſineſs and the little maſcarades we have had, and beſides the little I had to write, with the helpe of the cold wether, I did not thinke it worth your trouble and my owne to freeze my fingers for nothing, haveing ſaid all to Rouvigny that was upon my harte, and I am very glad to finde by yours that you are ſo well ſatisfied with what he brings ; it lies wholly on your parts now to answer the advances I have made, and if all be not as you wiſh, the faulte is not on my ſide. I was this morning at the Parliament houſe to paſſe the Bill for the five and twenty hundred thouſand pounds, and the commiſſioners are going into their ſeverall countreyes for the rayſing it according to the act. We are uſing all poſſible diligence in the ſetting out the fleete for ſpring. My lord Sandwich ſett ſaile two days ſince with 18 good ſhips, to ſeeke out a ſquadron of the Dutch fleete which we heare was ſeen upon the north coaſt of England ; and if he has the good fortune to meete with them, I hope he will give a good accounte of them. I am very glad to hear that your indiſpoſition of health is turned into a great belly : I hope you will have better lucke with it than the ducheffe here had, who was brought to bed Monday laſt of a girle ; one part I ſhall wiſh you to have, which is, that you may have as eaſy a labour, for ſhe diſpatched her buſineſs in little more than an houer. I am aſtraide your ſhape is not ſo advantageouſly made for that convenience as hers is : however a boy will recompence two grunts more, and ſo good night

might for feare I should fall into natural philosophy before I thinke of it. I am yours.

Charles the II^d to the Dutcheſs of Orleans.—The Duke of York has come into the project on the ſcore of religion.—Bids her not write to Buckingham.

Whithall, 22 March, 1669.

In the Depot.

I CAME from Newmarket the day before yeſterday, where we had as fine wether as we could wiſh, which added much both to the horſes matches as well as to hunting. L'Abbe Pregnani was there moſt part of the time, and I beleeve will give you ſome account of it; but not that he loſt his mony upon confidence that the ſtarrs could tell which horſe could win, for he had the ill luck to foretell three times wrong together, and James (i. e. Monmouth) beleeved him ſo much as he loſt his mony upon the ſame ſcore. I had not my cipher at Newmarket when I receaved yours of the 16, ſo as I could ſay nothing to you in anſwer to it till now, and before this comes to your hands, you

will cleerly ſee upon what ſcore ^Y 363. (York) is come upon the buſineſſe, and for what reaſon I deſired you

not to write to any body upon the buſineſſe of ^F 271.

(France). ^B 341. (Buckingham) knowes nothing of ^K ^C ^R 360. (King Charles) intentions towards ^A 290. 319.

(Catholick Religion) nor of the perſon ^R 334. (Arundel)

^B ſends to 100. (Le Roy, i. e. Louis the XIVth) and

you need not feare that ^B 341, (Buckingham) will take it ill that 103. does not write to him, for I have told him that I have forbid 129. to do it for feare of intercepting the letters, nor indeed is there much uſe of our writing much upon this ſubject, becauſe letters may miſcarry, and you are before this time ſo fully acquainted

quainted with all, as there is nothing to be added till my messenger comes back.

You have counsell'd Monsieur very well in the matter of Mr. de Rohan. I never heard of a more impertinent carriage then his. I had not time to write to you by father Paterique (Tallbot) for he took the resolution of going to France, but the night before I left this place, but now I desire you to be kind to the poore man, for he is as honest a man as lives, and pray direct your Phesician to have a care of him, for I should really be troubled if he should not do well. What you sent by Mercer is lost, for there are letters come that informs of his setting saile from Havre in an open shalloupe with intention to come to Portsmouth, and we have never heard of him since, so as he is undoubtedly drown'd. I hear Mam. sent me a present by him, which I beleieve brought him the ill lucke, so as she ought in conscience to be at the charges of praying for his soule, for tis her fortune has made the man miscarry : and so my dearest sister, I am yours with all the kindnesse and tenderesse imaginable.

Charles the II^d to the Dutcheß of Orleans.—He is fortifying himself at home.—Is not to touch church lands.—Buckingham afterwards to be brought in.—The King's resentment against the Dutch.

Whithall, 6 June, 1669.

THE opportunity of this bearer going to France, *In the Depot.* gives me a good occasion to answer your letters by my lord Alington, and in the first place to tell you that I am securing all the principal postes of this countrey, not only fortifying them as they ought to be, but likewise the keeping them in such handes as I am sure will be faithfull to me upon all occasions, and this will secure the fleete ; because the cheefe places where the ships lye are Chattam and Portsmouth, the first of which is fortifying with all speede, and will be finished this yeare ; the other is in good condition already

ready, but not so good as I desire, for it will cost some money and time to make the place as I have designed it; and I will not have lesse care both in Scotland and Ireland. As for that which concerns those who have church lands, there will be easy wayes found out to secure them and put them out of all apprehension. There is all the reason in the worlde to joyne profit

^Rwith honour when it may be done honestly, and 126.

(le Roy, i. e. Louis the XIV) will find ^K360. (King
^{Holland}

Charles) as forward to do 299. a good turne as he can desire, and they will I dout not agree very well in the point, for he has used them both very scurvily. I am

^Ksure 334. (King Charles) will never be satisfied till he has had his revenge, and is very willing to enter into

^Ran agreement upon that matter whensoever 152. (le Roy, i. e. Louis the XIVth) please, and I will an-

^Aswer for 346. (Arlington) that he will be as forward in that matter as I am, and farther assurance you cannot expect from an honest man in his post, nor ought you to trust him if he should make any other professions to be for what his master is for. I say this to you because I undertooke to answer that part of the letter you writt to him upon this subject, and I hope this will be full satisfaction as to him in the future that there may be no doubt, since I do answer for him. I had writ thus far when I received yours by Elyas, by which I perceave the inclination there still is of trusting 112. (Commingé) with the maine businesse, which I must confesse for many reasons I am very unwilling to, and if there were no other reason than his understanding, which to tell you the truth, I have not so great an esteeme for, as to be willing to trust him with that which is of so much concerne. There will
^{be}

Mon.

be a time when both he and 342. (Monsieur, i. e. the Duke of Orleans) may have a share in part of the matter, but for the great secret if it be not kept so till all things are ready to begin, we shall never go through with it, and destroy the whole businesse. I have seene

B

your letter to 341. (Buckingham) and what you write to him is as it ought to be, he shall be brought into all the businesse before he can suspect any thing, ex-

R

cept that which concerns 263. (Religion) which he must not be trusted with: you will do well to write but seldome to him, for feare something may slip from your penn which may make him jealous that there is something more then what he knowes of. I do long

L. A.

to hear from 340. (Lord Arundel) or to see him heere, for till I see the paper you mention which comes from France

113. I cannot say more than I have done. And now I shall only add one word of this bearer Mr. de la Hiliere, who I have found by my acquaintance with him since his being heere to have both witt and judgement, and a very honest man, and pray let him know that I am very much his frind, and if at any time you can give him a good word to the King of France I shall be very glad of it; I will end this with desiring you to beleieve that I have nothing so much at my hart as to be able to acknowledge the kindnesse you have for me: if I thought that making many compliments upon that matter would perswade you more of the sincerity of my kindnesse to you, you should not want whole sheetes of paper with nothing but that; but I hope you have that justice as to beleieve me more then I can expresse entierly yours.

Charles

Charles the II^d to the Dutcheſs of Orleans.—Enjoins ſecrecy.—Impatient for Lord Arundel's return.

Whithall, 7 June, 1669.

In the Depot.

I WRITT to you yeſterday by Mr. de la Hiliere^C upon that important point, whether 112. (Comminge) ought to be acquainted with our ſecrett, and the more I think of it, the more I am perplexed: reflecting upon his insufficiency, I cannot thinke him fitt for it, and therefore could wiſh ſome other fitter man in his ſtation, but becauſe the attempting of that might diſoblige^B 137. (Buckingham) I can by no means adviſe it: upon the whole matter I ſee no kinde of neceſſity of telling 112. (Comminge) of the ſecrett now, nor indeede till 270.^E (England) is in a better redineſſe to make uſe of 297.^F (France) towards the great buſineſſe: meethinks it will be enough that 164. be made acquainted with 100.^R (Le Roy, i. e. Louis the XIVth) ſecurity in 360.^K (King Charles) frienſhip without knowing the reaſon of it: To conclude, remember how much the ſecrett in this matter importes^K 386. (King Charles) and take care that no new body be acquainted with it till I ſee what 340. (Lord Arundel) brings 334.^K (King Charles) in anſwer to his propoſitions, and till you have my conſent that 164. or any body elſe have there ſhare in this matter. I would ſaine know (which I cannot do but by 366.)^{L. A.} (Lord Arundel) how ready 323.^{France} is to breake with 299.^{Holland} that is the game that would as I conceive moſt accomodate

date the interests both of ^{England} 270 and ^{France} 297. As for ^{Spain} 324. he is sufficiently undoing himselfe to neede any helpe

^{France} from 271. Nay I am persuaded the meddling with him would unite and make his counsell stronger: the

^{L.A.} sooner you dispatch 340. (Lord Arundel) the more cleerely we shall be able to judge of the whole matter. One caution more I had like to have forgotten, that

^R when it shall be fit to acquainte 138. with 152. (le Roy) security in 386. (King Charles) frindship, he must

^{England} not say any thing of it in 270. and pray lett the mi-
^{France} nisters in 297 speak less confidently of ^K 360. (King

Charles) frindship then I heare they do, for it will in-
^{Parlement} finitely discompose 269. when he meets with ^K 334.

(King Charles) to beleieve that ^K 386. (King Charles)
^{France} is tied so fast with 271. and make ^{Parlement} 321. have a thou-

sand jealousies upon it. I have no more to add but to tell you that my wife after all our hopes has miscarried againe without any visible accident; the phesicians are divided whether it were a false conception or a good one, and so good night for 'tis very late; I am intierly yours.

Charles the IIId to the Dutcheſs of Orleans.—Impatient for an answer from the French court about the treaty.

Whithall, 24 Oct. 1669.

I WRITT to you yestarday by the Comte de Gram-^{In the Deppt.}mont, but I beleieve this letter will come sooner to your handes, for he goes by the way of Diep with his wife and family: and now that I have named her, I cannot chuse but againe desire you to be kinde to her; for besides the meritt her family has on both sides, she is as good a creature as ever lived. I believe she will
passe

passe for a handsome woman in France, though she
 has not yett, since her lying in, recovered that good
 shape she had before, and I am affraide never will.
 You will heare by this post of the demelé that was be-
 tweene my Ld. St. Albans and de Chapel, wich is
 now made up : all I shall say of it is, that de Chapel
 was as much in the wrong as a man could well be to
 his superiour officer. Poore Oncale died this afternoon
 of an ulser in his gutts ; he was as honest a man as
 ever lived : I am sure I have lost a good servant by it.
 I have nothing to say more to you upon our publique
 businesse 'till I have an answer from you of my last
 letter by the post, only that I expect with impatiency
 to know your mindes there, and then you shall finde
 me as forward to a strict friendship with the King my
 brother as you can wish. You will have heard of our
 takeing of New Amsterdame wich lies just by New
 England. 'Tis a place of great importance to trade,
 and very good towne ; it did belong to England here-
 tofore, but the Duch by degrees drove our people out
 of it, and built a very good towne, but we have got
 the better of it, and 'tis now called New Yorke : he
 that took it, and is now there, is Nicols, my brother's
 servant who you know very well.

I am yours.

In the *Depot*, at Versailles, there is a letter from Sir
 Ellis Leighton to the dutchess of Orleans, dated 18
 Jan. 1769. in which he tells her, that Buckingham
 had refused to treat with Mons. Colbert, the French
 ambassador, on account, as he said, that he was afraid
 of a discovery.

On the 12 August, 1669, there is a letter from
 Mons. Colbert, then ambassador in England, to Mons.
 de Lyonne, the French King's secretary of state, that
 Buckingham had offered to go over to France to make
 a treaty

a treaty there between France and England, but that he, Colbert, had prevented him ; and there are other letters to the same purpose. In the mean time the treaty was going on unknown to Buckingham by the intervention of the dutchefs of Orleans.

On the 2d of September, 1669, King Charles writes thus to his sister :

Charles the III^d to the Dutcheſs of Orleans.—The triple alliance had been made againſt his inclinations.

2d September, 1669.

YOU judge very well, when you conclude that I In the *Depot*.
am ſatisfied with Monſ. Colbert, and I wiſh with all my heart that France had been as forward in their intentions towards us when Rouvigny was here, as I ſee they are now ; I ſhould not have been ſo embarrassed with the ties I am now under, if the offers I then made had been accepted.—I have upon all occaſions let Monſ. Colbert know the kindneſs I have for you, and that if I had no other inclination to France but your being there, it would be a ſufficient matter to make me deſire paſſionately a ſtrict union with them.

This letter ſhows that the triple alliance againſt France was againſt King Charles's inclinations.

In the *Depot* are the two following letters between Louis the XIVth and King Charles, about the treaty.

Lettre du Roi au Roi d'Angleterre, du 10 Septembre, 1669.

MONSIEUR mon frere. Comme vous avés jugé que par ma réponſe j'ai entierement payé la confiance que vous avés eûe en moi, j'avoue que par votre répliqué vous avez repris la même avantage, n'y ayant pû rien trouver à deſirer, ni dans les choſes
C mêmes,

mêmes, ni dans la maniere de les exprimer. Je me flatte aussi que le mémoire dont j'accompagne cette lettre vous donnera la même satisfaction ; et il ne reste ce me semble qu' à mettre promptement la main à l'œuvre, pour établir les fondemens de ce que nous souhaitons l'un et l'autre avec tant de passion : sur quoi j'attendrai de vos nouvelles avec autant d'impatience que ma sœur même, pour qui nous avons tant d'amitié, et qui se rencontre si heureusement la mediatrix de cette négociation, comme elle est même un lien si naturel de nôtre union.

Translation.

Letter from Louis the XIVth to the King of England.—Happy in the Dutcheſs of Orleans being mediatrix between them.—Strong expreſſions of mutual confidence.

Sir, my brother,

10 Sep. 1669.

AS you judged by my answer that I had entirely paid the confidence you placed in me, I own that by your reply you have regained the same advantage, not being able to find any thing more to wish, neither as to the things themselves, nor in the manner of expressing them. I flatter myself also that the memorial which accompanies this letter will give you the same satisfaction : and it appears to me there is nothing wanting but speedily to put a hand to the work, for establishing the foundations of what we both so ardently wish for : on this I expect to hear from you with as much impatience as my sister, for whom we have so much friendship, and who so happily is the mediatrix of this negociation, being as she is so natural a tie to our union.

Lettre

Lettre du Roi d'Angleterre du Roi, au 30 Septembre, 1669.

MONSIEUR mon frere. Le porteur de la présente vous étant bien connu, il n'aura pas besoin d'une recommandation fort ample pour être crû auprès de vous dans les discours qu'il vous exposera de ma part. Ma sœur vous rendra au même tems de son arrivée le papier que j'ai fait faire pour l'accompagner, dans lequel vous verrez les sentimens les plus intérieurs de mon ame sur le sujet du dit discours. Le quel papier je vous adresse par les mains de ma sœur, pour vous confirmer dans la confiance mutuelle que nous avons dans sa discretion et zele à nous unir plus étroitement. J'ai chargé le porteur de vous dire l'entiere satisfaction que j'ai de votre procédé honnête et obligeant à mon égard, et la véritable amitié avec laquelle je suis.

*Letter from the King of England to Louis the XIVth.—
Strong expressions of a mutual confidence.*

Sir, my brother, 30 September, 1669.

THE bearer is so well known to you, there needs no farther recommendation for his being believed in the discourse he will hold to you on my part. My sister will at the time of his arrival deliver to you a paper which I thought proper should accompany him, in which you will see the most secret sentiments of my soul on the subject of the said discourse. I address the said paper to you by the hands of my sister, to confirm you in the mutual confidence we both have in her discretion and zeal to unite us more strongly. I have charged the bearer to assure you of the entire satisfaction I have in your just and obliging proceeding with regard to myself, and of the real friendship with which I am.

It appears from Colbert's dispatches, in the *Depot*, that King Charles, some time before this, had sent over lord Arundel to Paris to treat with France, and had appointed him, lord Clifford, Sir Richard Bealling, and lord Arlington, his commissioners to manage it. The three first of these persons were declared Roman Catholics. Lord Arlington was a concealed one, and on his death-bed declared his faith publicly, as appears from a subsequent part of the French dispatches in the *Depot*. What the views of King Charles and the French were in entering into a treaty, will be seen from a conversation between King Charles and Colbert, related in the following letter, in the *Depot*, from Monsr. Colbert to his own court, who was sent over to England in place of Monsr. de Comminge, to be ready to manage the treaty there.

Lettre de Mr. Colbert au Roi, du 13 Novembre, 1669.—

Has got Lord Arundel's propositions and his own instructions.—His conversation with Charles the II, about the secret treaty.—Charles trusts to a military force. Inclines to declare himself Catholick, in order to satisfy his conscience, and strengthen his authority, before he declares war against the Dutch. Colbert urges him rather to begin with the war, in order that he may have the greater force of his own and French troops ready to support his authority when he declares himself Catholick.

S I R E,

In the Depot.

LE courrier que votre Majesté m'a dépêché arriva ici dimanche au matin dixième de ce mois, & après m'avoir rendu la lettre de *Mr. Colbert*, qui m'ordonne de la part de votre Majesté de chiffrer et déchiffrer moi même toutes les lettres que je recevrai ou que j'écrirai touchant l'importante affaire, qu'elle me fait l'honneur de me confier, il me remit en main le paquet contenant le mémoire de votre Majesté pour me servir d'instruction, toutes les propositions faites
par

par Mr. le Comte d'Arundel avec les réponses, la lettre de votre Majesté pour le Roi de la Grande Bretagne, le pouvoir qu'elle me donne écrit et signé de sa main et celui en parchemin. J'employay tout le reste du jour à déchiffrer, lire, et examiner tout ce que contiennent ces dépêches ; et comme le Roi d'Angleterre fût occupé tout le lundi tant à sa Chapelle qu'aux affaires du parlement, je n'eûs audience particuliere qu'hier au soir, où après qu'il eût lû la lettre de votre Majesté, il voulût bien me dire que la conduite que j'avois tenue jusqu'à présent, lui avoit été si agréable, qu'il n'avoit aucune répugnance à me confier le secret le plus important de sa vie ; et qu'outre la bonne opinion qu'il avoit de moi, il y étoit encore confirmé par la lettre de votre Majesté, et par celle de madame, qui le prioit de n'avoir aucune reserve pour moi. Je lui dis, comme je le pense aussi, que j'étois si sensiblement touché de la confiance que votre Majesté et lui vouloient bien avoir en moi dans une affaire d'une si grande conséquence, et pour leur royaumes et même pour toute la chrétienté, que je croyois que quand j'emploierois et ma vie et tout ce que j'ai de bien pour la faire réussir, je ne satisferois pas encore à ma reconnoissance ; que n'y ayant plus de difference entre ses intérêts et ceux de votre Majesté, je le servirois aussi avec le même zele et la même fidélité ; et pour le secret je l'informai de l'ordre que votre Majesté m'a donné, et l'assurai que j'apporterois toute la diligence, et toutes les précautions possibles pour ne donner lieu à personne d'en rien soupçonner. Il me demanda ensuite si j'avois vû les propositions, qu'il a faites à votre Majesté. Je lui dis, qu'elle m'avoit fait envoyer les copies de tout ce qui avoit été écrit de part et d'autre sur ce sujet ; que ses sentimens m'avoient paru très généreux et véritablement dignes d'un grand Roi ; qu'aussi votre Majesté en étoit parfaitement satisfaite, et principalement de la confiance qu'il lui avoit témoignée, en lui communiquant son dessein ; que je ne pouvois pas aussi lui exprimer l'obligation que votre Majesté lui a, de la disposi-

tion où il est de se joindre à elle, pour lui faciliter l'acquisition des droits nouveaux qui pourroient lui écheoir sur les Etats de la Monarchie d'Espagne ; que comme c'est l'intérêt le plus capital qu'elle puisse jamais avoir, elle reconnoit fort bien de quelle importante utilité lui sera cette jonction, si l'occasion en arrivoit par la mort du Roi Catholique, et quels avantages elle produiroit en faveur de votre Majesté dans la poursuite de son droit, et à l'Angleterre aussi comme elle le trouve juste. Il me dit ensuite, qu'il croyoit qu'en lisant tous ces écrits, j'avois estimé que lui et ceux aux quels il avoit confié la conduite de cette affaire étoient sous de prétendre retablir en Angleterre la Religion Catholique ; qu'effectivement toute personne instruite des affaires de son royaume, et de l'humeur de ses peuples, devoit avoir cette pensée là ; mais qu'après tout il eseroit qu'avec l'appuy de votre Majesté, cette grand entreprise auroit un heureux succès ; que les Presbyteriens et toutes les autres sectes avoient encore plus d'aversion pour l'Eglise Anglicane que pour les Catholiques ; que tous ces sectaires ne respiroient qu'après la liberté de l'exercice de leur religion, que pourvû qu'ils l'obtiennent, comme c'est son dessein de leur accorder, ils ne s'opposeront point à son changement de religion ; que d'ailleurs, il a de bonnes troupes qui lui sont bien affectionnées, et que si le feu Roi son pere en avoit eu autant, il auroit étouffé dans leur naissance les troubles qui ont causé sa perte ; qu'il augmenteroit encore autant qu'il lui seroit possible ses regimens et compagnies sous les pretextes les plus spécieux qu'il pourroit trouver ; que tous les magasins d'armes sont à sa disposition, et tous bien remplis. Qu'il étoit assuré des principales places d'Angleterre et d'Ecosse ; que le gouverneur de Hulle étoit Catholique ; que ceux de Portsmouth, Plymouth, et de plusieurs autres places qu'il me nomma, et entr'autres Windsor, ne se départiroient jamais de l'abéissance qu'ils lui doivent : que pour les troupes d'Irlande, il espere que le Duc d'Ormond, qui y a conservé un grand crédit, lui sera toujours fidele ; et que
quand

quand même ce Duc n'approuvant pas ce changement de religion, manqueroit à ce qu'il lui doit, my lord Ororey qui est Catholique dans l'ame, et qui a encore plus de pouvoir dans cette armée, la meneroit par tout où il lui commanderoit : que l'amitié de votre Majesté, dont il avoit des preuves les plus obligeantes du monde par les reponses qu'elle a faites à ses propositions, et dont il me témoigné être parfaitement content, seroit aussi pour lui d'un grand secours ; et in fin il me dit qu'il étoit pressé et par sa conscience et par la confusion qu'il voyoit augmenter de jour en jour dans son royaume à la diminution de son autorité, de se déclarer Catholique, et qu' outre l'avantage qu'il en retireroit pour le spirituel, il croyoit aussi que c'étoit le seul moyen de retablir la Monarchie. Je lui dis que le dessein étoit grand et généreux, et que j'espérois qu'en prenant bien son tems, il réussiroit ; que comme votre Majesté se remet tout à sa prudence pour le choix de ce tems, j'en avois rien à en dire, à moins qu'il ne voulût écouter les raisons que me suggeroit le seul zele que j'ai pour son service, et les connoissances que m'a données le séjour que j'ai fait à sa cour ; comme il m'eût dit qu'il seroit bien aisé de prendre mes conseils dans toute la suite de cette affaire, je lui dis que je ne doutois point de ce qu'il m'avoit fait l'honneur de me dire, qui si le Roi son pere eût eû autant de troupes que lui, il n'eût facilement abattu la rébellion des sa naissance, parcequ'elle n'avoit commencé que par de petits troubles exciter par des intrigues de cour, aux quelles les peuples n'avoient presque point de part, et qui n'ont pris force et vigueur que par l'impunité dans laquelle l'autorité Royale, n'étant appuyée d'aucunes troupes, a été contrainté de les laisser ; mais que ceux que l'on devoit craindre que sa déclaration ne causât, seroient bien d'une autre nature ; que peut-être de dix parts de son royaume les neuf y auroient intérêt ; que si les Presbyteriens et sectaires haïssoient plus à présent l'Eglise Anglicane que la Catholique, c'est parceque celle-ci est à présent dans le dernier abatement, et

plus digne de pitié que d'envie ; mais que quand ils le verroient relevée par la déclaration du Prince, et qu'ils feroient réflexion sur le décréditement dans le quel leur secte pourroit tomber dans la suite du tems, ils s'uniroient apparemment avec les Protestans pour s'opposer à ce changement : que l'expérience n'a que trop montré, que le motif de la religion est un feu de soufre et de salpêtre, qui enflâme en un instant toute l'étendue de sa matière, et n'est jamais plus furieux ni plus violent que dans son commencement ; qu'il il falloit s'attendre à les séditions dans toutes les parties du royaume ; et dans Londres qu'il ne manque jamais de chef dans des rebellions de cette nature ; que j'apprenois même, qu'il y avoit plus de vingt mille hommes tant dans Londres qu'aux environs, qui avoient porté les armes pendant l'usurpation de Cromwel, et qui étoient au désespoir de se voir sans emploi ; qu'il y avoit sujet de croire que dans une occasion comme cette là, ils seroient tous prêts de reprendre les armes pour appuyer la rebellion ; que quand pas une des troupes qu'il entretient, ni aucun de ses bons sujets sur lesquels il compte, ne lui manqueroient au besoin, ils seroient peut être accablés la multitude des rebelles, avant même qu'il eût pu faire venir les troupes que votre Majesté seroit convenue de lui donner ; que la tour de Londres, où est son principal magasin d'armes, n'est d'aucune défense, et ne tiendrait peut-être pas un jour si elle étoit attaquée ; qu'il ne falloit pas espérer que les Hollandois, qui craindroient avec raison la suite de cette déclaration, se tiendroient dans un plein repos, et ne prendroient aucune part dans ce qui se passeroit ; qu'ils employeroient au contraire et leurs trésors, et tout leur crédit pour former des obstacles à l'exécution d'un dessein si fatal à leur état ; qu'en fin il y avoit selon mon sens un très grand danger et pour la couronne et pour tous ses bons serviteurs dans une déclaration prématurée ; au lieu que dans le parti que votre Majesté propose de commencer par une déclaration de guerre contre la Hollande, j'y voyois toute

sûreté,

furété, et l'on pouvois répondre d'une heureux succès : Car premierement, je ne pouvois pas douter que faisant connoître à son Parlement, que sa plus forte passion est de rendre la commerce et la navigation des Anglois beaucoup plus florissans qu'ils n'ont jamais été, et que comme il n'y trouve point de plus grand obstacle que les Hollandois, qui s'étant emparés par des manieres tyranniques de commerce de tout le monde, en sorte qu'à peine 16000 vaisseaux qu'ils ont déjà peuvent suffire à leur navigation, ne veulent aujourd'hui lui donner aucune satisfaction sur les justes demandes qu'il leur a faites, tant pour la liberté du commerce dans les Indes Orientales, que sur d'autres chefs qui regardent l'avantage de ses sujets, il a résolu de leur faire la guerre pour les mettre à la raison ; et qu'il a pris pour cet effet de si bonnes mesures avec votre Majesté, qu'il répond du succès, pourvû que son Parlement lui accorde seulement les deux tiers ou la moitié des assistances qu'il lui a données par le passé pour ce même sujet, j'étois, dis je, persuadé, qu'il obtiendrait un assez grand secours pour étant joint à ces revenus ordinaires et aux assistances que votre Majesté lui donneroit et des troupes et d'argent, mettre fin à cette guerre en une seule campagne, et y acquérir toute la gloire et tous les avantages qu'il pourroit desirer ; y ayant beaucoup d'apparence que la plupart des Princes d'Allemagne, qui sont ou amis de votre Majesté ou des siens, se joindroient contre les Hollandois, ou au moins demeureroient neutres ; ce que l'on ne devoit pas espérer des Rois et Princes Protestans, si cette guerre étoit précédée d'une déclaration de Catholicité, qui donneroit lieu aux Hollandois de leur faire croire que ce seroit une affaire de religion. Que les Etas étant attaqués, et du côté de l'Evêque de Munster et d'autre part aussi par les troupes de votre Majesté et les siennes, ne seroient pas en pouvoir d'armer une flotte considérable, ni de resister longtems ; et que quand même votre Majesté et lui jugeroient à propos pour leur commun avantage de continuer cette guerre,

il pourroit à la fin de la campagne, laisser seulement dans les places qui seroient de son partage, les troupes aux quelles il n'auroit pas sujet de se fier pour la déclaration de sa Catholicité, et faire revenir celles qui lui seroient le plus dévouées, pour avec toutes les recrues et nouvelles levées qu'il feroit faire pendant le cours de la campagne, sous le prétexte de la continuation de cette guerre, pouvoir appuyer son changement de religion : que pour lors il n'y auroit pas lieu d'apprehender que ses sujets le voyant bien armé, et par terre et par mer, et en pouvoir de disposer de toutes forces de votre Majesté contre tous ses ennemis, soit domestiques, soit étrangers, et étant d'ailleurs satisfaits des avantages qu'il leur auroit procurés par un heureux commencement de guerre, et de la liberté de conscience, qu'il leur accorderoit, voulussent ou osassent faire la moindre résistance à ses volontés : qu' au contraire, assemblant son Parlement dans cette conjoncture il en tireroit apparemment tels secours pour la continuation de cette guerre, et tels actes en faveur de sa religion qu'il pourroit desirer : que les Hollandois étant déclarés ennemis de l'état, et par conséquent ceux qui traiteroient avec eux sans ses ordres, punis comme traîtres au Roi et à la patrie, ils n'auroient pas à beaucoup près tant de facilité à former, appuyer, et maintenir une rebellion que lorsque sous l'apparence d'amis, eux et leurs emissaires auront liberté d'intriguer et de tout entreprendre. Enfin, Sire, après m'être servi le mieux qu'il m'a été possible de toutes les autres raisons énoncées au mémoire de votre Majesté, ce Prince m'a répondu qu'il ne s'étoit pas encore tout à fait déterminé sur le tems de sa déclaration, que peut-être seroit-il bon que votre Majesté commençât à faire la guerre aux Hollandois, pour lui fournir par là un prétexte de s'armer, et qu' aussitôt après il pourroit sans risque déclarer et sa Catholicité et la guerre aux Hollandois ; et le premier réussissant, comme il y auroit d. l'apparence, joindre après un mois ou deux ses forces à celles de votre Majesté contre leurs ennemis.

ennemis communs. Il me dit aussi qu' aussitôt que le projet auquel ses commissaires travailloient seroit achevé, il me le communiqueroit, et qu'il avoit bien de l'impatience que cette grande affaire fût bientôt conclu à votre commune satisfaction ; et après m'avoir encore donné des assurances de son estime les plus obligeantes que je pouvois desirer, il m'a congédié. Je me suis aussi acquitté envers mylord Arlington de l'ordre que votre Majesté m'a donné ; et il m'a témoigné une forte passion de se conserver l'estime de votre Majesté ; il m'a aussi promis qu'il agiroit dorénavant avec moi avec une entière ouverture de cœur, et sans aucune réserve. J'y ai répondu de ma part avec d'autant plus de sincérité, que la connoissance que votre Majesté m'a donnée de l'affection, et zèle de ce ministre pour le service du Roi son maître avoit changé le peu de satisfaction que sa froideur passée m'avoit donnée en une forte inclination à l'honorer comme un sage et fidele ministre ; et comme j'ai tout sujet d'être content de lui, il m'a paru aussi qu'il l'étoit des protestations sinceres que lui ai faites. Pour ce qui regarde l'affaire qui nous est confiée, notre entretien ayant été presque en toutes choses semblable à celui que j'ai eû avec le Roi, je n'en rendrai point compte à votre Majesté, pour ne pas user d'une redite ennuyeuse : il m'a dit que les affaires du parlement l'avoient tellement occupé, qu'il n'avoit pû travailler au projet de traité, mais qu'il alloit s'y employer avec toute la diligence que le sujet mérite ; il m'a dit aussi que pour ne point donner lieu de soupçon par des visites fréquentes que nous n'avons coutume de nous rendre, il falloit s'écrire réciproquement ; et que pour le faire plus sûrement, il disposeroit le Roi et Mr. le duc d'York à trouver bon que nous remissions entre leurs mains propres les lettres que nous nous écrivions sans que personne autre s'en puisse appercevoir : qu'il étoit aussi nécessaire que je donnasse au plutôt mes repliques sur le traité de commerce, à fin que cette affaire nous fournisse un prétexte de nous voir souvent ; qu'il trouvoit aussi à propos de faire courir le bruit adroitement que le Roi son maître sollicite votre Majesté de remettre

tre à son arbitrage la différence qu'elle a avec l'Espagne sur l'exécution du traité d'Aix' à fin de faire d'autant plus valoir aux Anglois cette complaisance de votre Majesté, et leur ôter tout sujet de craindre qu'elle veuille recommencer la guerre avec l'Espagne.

J'ai vû aussi Mr. le duc d'York, qui m'a dit en substance presque les mêmes choses dont le Roi et mylord Arlington m'avoient parlé. Aussitôt qu'on m'aura remis entre les mains le projet de traité, je ne manquerai pas de dépêcher un courrier pour le porter sûrement et en diligence à Mr. de Lyonne, et je tacherai de mériter la continuation de la confiance dont votre Majesté m'a honoré par une entière et fidele application à l'exécution de ses ordres, étant avec un profond respect et toute la soumission que je dois,

SIRE, de votre Majesté

Le très humble, très obeissant, très fidele,

Et très obligé serviteur à sujet,

(Signé) COLBERT.

Translation.

Letter from Mr. Colbert to Louis the XIVth.

SIRE,

13 Nov. 1769.

THE messenger your Majesty dispatched to me arrived here on Sunday morning the 10th instant, and after having given me the letter from Mr. Colbert, which orders me, on the part of your Majesty, to cypher and decypher myself all the letters I shall receive or write concerning the important affair which you have done me the honour to confide to me: he delivered to me the paquet containing your Majesty's memorial to serve me by way of instruction; all the propositions made by the earl of Arundel, with the answers; your Majesty's letter to the King of Great Britain; and the power delegated to me written and signed with your hand,

hand, and that on parchment. I employed the rest of the day in decyphering, reading, and examining the contents of the dispatches ; and as the King of England was engaged all Monday at chapel and with parliamentary affairs, I had not my private audience till yesterday evening, when after having read your Majesty's letter, he was pleased to tell me, that the conduct I had held till now, had been so agreeable to him, that he had not the least diffidence to trust me with the most important secret of his life ; and that besides the good opinion he had of me, it was confirmed to him by your Majesty's letter and that of Madame, who desired he would shew no reserve to me. I told him, as I really thought, that I was so sensibly touched with the confidence your Majesty and himself had placed in me in an affair of so great consequence to both your kingdoms, and even to all Christendom, if I employed my whole life, and all I was worth, to procure success, it would not be sufficient to testify my gratitude : that there being no longer any difference between his interests and those of your Majesty, I would serve him also with the same zeal and the same fidelity ; and as to keeping the secret, I informed him of your Majesty's order, and assured him that I would use all diligence, and take every possible precaution to avoid giving the least suspicion to any body. He afterwards asked me if I had seen the proposals he had made to your Majesty. I told him you had sent me copies of all that had been written on both sides upon the subject ; that his sentiments appeared to me very generous, and truly worthy of a great King : that your majesty was perfectly well satisfied with them, and principally with the confidence he had shewn to you in communicating his design ; that moreover I could not sufficiently express to him the obligation your Majesty was under for his disposition to join himself with you, in order to facilitate the acquisition of the new claims you might have upon the Spanish monarchy ; that as it was the most capital interest you could ever have, you acknowledged of what
important

important service this junction would be, if the occasion presented itself by the death of the Catholic King; and what advantages it would produce in favour of your Majesty, in the pursuit of your right, and to England also, as he justly saw. He told me afterwards he believed, that in reading all the writings, I must have thought that he and those to whom he had entrusted the conduct of this affair, were all fools to pretend to re-establish the Catholic religion in England; that, in effect, every person versed in the affairs of his kingdom, and the humour of his people, ought to have the same thought; but that, after all, he hoped that, with your Majesty's support, this great undertaking would have a happy success: that the Presbyterians, and all the other sects, had a greater aversion to the English church than to the Catholics: That all the sectaries desired only the free exercise of their religion, and provided they could obtain it, and it was his design they should, they would not oppose his intended change of religion: that besides, he has some good troops strongly attached to him, and if the deceased King his father had had as many, he would have stifled in their birth those troubles that caused his ruin: that he would still augment as much as possible his regiments and companies under the most specious pretexts he could devise: that all the magazines of arms were at his disposal, and all well filled. That he was sure of the principal places in England and Scotland: that the governor of Hull was a Catholic; that those of Portsmouth, Plymouth, and many other places he named, among the rest Windsor, would never depart from the duty they owed him: that as to the troops in Ireland, he hoped the duke of Ormond, who had very great credit there, would be always faithful to him; and that though the duke, not approving this change of religion, should fail in his duty, my lord Orrery, who was a Catholic in his heart, and who had still a greater power in that army, would lead it wherever he should command him: That your
Majesty's

Majesty's friendship, of which he had the most obliging proofs in the world by the answers given to his proposals, and with which he assured me he was entirely satisfied, would also be of great service to him : and in short, he told me that he was pressed both by his conscience, and by the confusion which he saw encreasing from day to day in his kingdom, to the diminution of his authority, to declare himself a Catholic ; and besides the spiritual advantage he should draw from it, he believed it to be the only means of re-establishing the monarchy. I said to him, that the design was great and generous, and that I hoped by timing it well it would succeed : that as your Majesty trusted to his prudence for the choice of the time, I had nothing to say to it, unless he would hearken to the reasons that my zeal alone for his service suggested, and the knowledge I had acquired during my stay at his court ; and as he had told me he should be glad to take my counsel in the whole of this affair, I did not doubt of what he had done me the honour to tell me, to wit, that if the late King, his father, had had as many troops as himself, he would easily have quashed the rebellion in its birth, as it originally began by trifling troubles excited by the intrigues of the court, in which the people had hardly any share, and which had gained force and vigour, through the impunity alone in which the royal authority, not being supported by any troops, was constrained to leave them ; but that the troubles which it was to be feared his declaration would cause, would be of quite another nature ; that perhaps nine parts in ten of his kingdom would take an interest in it ; that if the Presbyterians and sectaries hated the English more than the Catholic church, it was because the last was at present at the lowest ebb, and more worthy of pity than envy ; but when they saw it restored by the Prince's declaration, and reflected upon the discredit into which their sect might fall in the course of time, they would probably unite with the protestants to oppose this change : That experience had too much demonstrated,

demonstrated, that religious motives were a fire of sulphur and saltpetre, which in an instant sets in a flame the whole extent of its matter, and is never more furious nor more violent than in the beginning. That seditions must be expected in every part of the kingdom; and that in London there never were wanting persons to head rebellions of this kind: That I had even learnt there were more than 20,000 men in London and its environs, who had borne arms during Cromwell's usurpation, and were driven to despair to find themselves without employment: That there was reason therefore to believe that on an occasion like this; they would be all ready to take up arms to support rebellion; that though none of the troops he kept in pay, or of those faithful subjects he depended on, should fail him in the time of need, yet they might perhaps be overcome by the multitude of rebels, even before the troops your majesty has agreed to furnish could possibly arrive: That the Tower of London, which is his principal magazine of arms, is of no defence, and would not probably hold out a day if attacked: that it is not to be hoped the Hollanders; who with reason will fear the consequence of this declaration, will keep themselves entirely quiet; and not take part in what may happen: that on the contrary, they would employ both their treasure and their credit to form obstacles to the execution of a design so fatal to their state: and in short; in my opinion, his crown, as well as all his trusty servants, are in great danger from a premature declaration: that on the contrary, I saw every kind of safety in the part your Majesty proposed him to take of beginning by declaring war against Holland, and its happy success might be answered for: for; first; I could not doubt that when he acquainted his parliament his strongest desire was to render the English navigation still more flourishing than it had ever been, and that the greatest obstacle thereto were the Dutch, who having, by very tyrannical means, engrossed the commerce of the whole world, (so that

26000 vessels are hardly sufficient for their trade) and refused him any satisfaction to the just demand he had made, as well for the liberty of trade to the East Indies, as upon other heads which regard the interests of his subjects; he had resolved to declare war against them in order to bring them to reason; and that to this end he had taken such prudent measures with your Majesty that he could insure the success, provided his parliament would grant him only two thirds or one half of the assistance they before gave him on the like occasion, I was, I said, fully persuaded that he would obtain a sufficient succour, which joined to his ordinary revenue, and to the helps which your Majesty will afford him in troops and money; would put an end to the war in one campaign; and thereby he would acquire as much glory and many advantages as could be desired; there being the greatest appearance that the major part of the German Princes; who are either in friendship with your Majesty or with him, will join against the Dutch, or at least remain neuter; which is not to be expected from the protestant Kings and Princes, if this war were preceded by his declaring himself a Catholick, which would give the Dutch room to make them believe that it was a religious quarrel. That the States being attacked on the side of the bishoprick of Munster, and on other parts by the troops of your Majesty and his; it would not be in their power to fit out a considerable fleet, nor to make a long resistance; and should even your Majesty and he think proper for your common interest to continue the war; he might at the end of the campaign leave only such troops in the places which fell to his share; as he had the least reason to trust with regard to his declaring himself a Catholic, and order those only home who were more devoted to his interest; and with these, in conjunction with the recruits and levies which he might raise during the campaign, under pretence of continuing the war, he might support his change of religion: that then there would not be the least apprehen-

tion that his subjects seeing him well armed by sea and land, and that it was in his power to dispose of all your Majesty's forces against his enemies, whether foreign or domestic, and besides satisfied of the advantages he would procure them by a successful commencement of the war, and a free liberty of conscience which he was to grant, would, or indeed durst make the least resistance to his will; on the contrary, by assembling his parliament in this conjuncture, he would evidently draw such supplies for the continuation of the war, and such acts in favour of his religion as he could desire. That the Dutch being declared enemies to the state, and consequently those who held correspondence with them, without his permission, liable to be punished as traitors to their King and country, they would not find it near so easy to form, support, and maintain rebellion, as when, under the appearance of friends, they and their emissaries could have the liberty of intriguing and undertaking every thing. In fine, Sire, after having made the best use I possibly could of all the other reasons contained in your Majesty's memorial, this Prince gave for answer, that he was not yet quite determined upon the time of making his declaration; that it might perhaps be best for your Majesty to begin the war with Holland, and thereby furnish him with a pretence to arm; and soon after he might without risque declare his being a Catholick, and war against Holland; and the first succeeding, as it probably would; he might in a month or two join his forces to those of your Majesty, against the common enemy. He told me also, that as soon as the project which his commissioners were at work upon was finished, he would communicate it to me, and that he was very impatient to have this great affair speedily concluded to your mutual satisfaction; and after having given me the most obliging assurances of his esteem that I could desire, he dismissed me. I have also executed your Majesty's orders to my lord Arlington; he testified to me the
strongest

strongest desire to preserve your Majesty's esteem. He also promised me that for the time to come he would act with me with an entire openness of heart, and without any reserve. I answered him with so much the more sincerity, as the knowledge your Majesty gave me of the affection and zeal of this minister for the King his master's service, had changed the little dissatisfaction his past coldness had given me into a strong inclination to honour him as a wise and faithful minister; and as I have every reason to be satisfied with him, he also appeared to be so with the sincere protestations that I made him. With regard to the affair that is entrusted to us, our conversation being in almost every thing the same with that I had with the King, I will not trouble your Majesty with it, to avoid a tiresome repetition. He told me, he had been so much taken up with parliamentary affairs, that he could not give any attention to the project of the treaty; but that he would now employ himself with all the diligence the subject merited; and to avoid giving the least suspicion by more frequently visiting than we had been used to do, he thought it best to write to each other reciprocally; and to make it more sure, he would dispose the King and the Duke of York to allow that what letters we wrote should be put into their hands, without any other person knowing any thing of it; that it was equally necessary I should as soon as possible give my answers upon the treaty of commerce, to the end that this affair might furnish us with a pretence to see each other oftner; and he thought it adviseable a report should be spread that the King his master had solicited your Majesty to submit to his arbitration the difference he had with Spain concerning the execution of the treaty of Aix, in order to enhance your Majesty's complaisance to the English, and remove every cause of fear that you intend to recommence the Spanish war.

I have also seen the Duke of York, who in substance said nearly the same things to me that the King

and lord Arlington had. As soon as they put into my hands the project of the treaty, I shall not fail to dispatch a messenger who will carry it safely and without loss of time to Mr. De Lyonne, and I shall endeavour to merit the continuance of the confidence with which your Majesty has honoured me by an intire and faithful application to the execution of your orders, being with the most profound respect and submission, Sire, your Majesty's most humble, most obedient, most faithful and most obliged servant and subject,

COLBERT.

In the *Depot* at Versailles there is the following draught of the secret treaty drawn by Sir Richard Bealling, and presented to the French court.

*Copie du Memoire remis par Mr. Belin a Mr. Colbert,
le 18 Decembre, 1669.*

*Projet d'un Traite secret de Ligue et Confederation
perpetuelle entre le Roi de la Grande Bretagne et
le Roi tres Chretien.*

IL a été traité, convenu et conclu, qu'il y aura à toute perpétuité bonne, sûre, et ferme paix union, vraie confraternité, confédération, amitié, alliance et bonne correspondance entre le Roi de la Grande Bretagne, ses hoirs et successeurs d'une part, et le Roi très Chrétien de l'autre; et entre tous et aucuns de leurs royaumes, etats et territoires, entre leurs sujets et vassaux qu'ils ont et possèdent à présent, ou pourront avoir à l'avenir et posséder cy après, tant par mer et eaux douces que par terre; et pour témoigner que cette paix doit être inviolable, sans que rien au monde la puisse à jamais troubler, il s'ensuit des articles d'une confiance grande, et e'ailleurs si avantageux aux dits seigneurs Rois, qu' à peine trouvera-t'on que dans
aucun

aucun siècle on en ait arrêté et conclu de plus importants. Le Roi de la Grande Bretagne étant convaincu de la vérité de la religion catholique, et résolu de déclarer Catholique, et de se réconcilier avec l'église de Rome, croit qu'pour faciliter l'exécution de dessein, l'assistance du Roi très Chrétien lui pourra être nécessaire : il est donc arrêté et conclu que sa Majesté très Chrétienne fournira au Roi d'Angleterre avant la dite déclaration la somme de deux cent mille livres sterlings ; la moitié de la dite somme sera payée trois mois après la ratification de part et d'autre de ce présent traité, et l'autre moitié trois mois après ce tems ; et de plus le dit seigneur Roi très Chrétien assistera sa Majesté Britannique de troupes et d'argent, selon qu'il sera de besoin, en cas que les sujets du dit seigneur Roi n'acquiescent pas à la dite déclaration, et se rebellent contre sa dite Majesté Brittanique, (ce qu'on ne croit pas) et à fin que la dite déclaration ait le succès qu'on en espere, et soit exécutée avec le plus de sûreté, il est aussi arrêté que le jour de l'exécution du dessein sera entierement au choix du Roy d'Angleterre.

2. Item a été convenu entre le Roi très Chrétien et sa Majesté Britannique, que le dit seigneur Roi très Chrétien ne rompra ni n'enfreindra jamais la paix qu'il a faite avec l'Espagne : et ne contreviendra en chose quelconque à ce qu'il a promis par le traité d'Aix la Chapelle ; et par consequent il sera permis au Roi de la Grande Bretagne de maintenir le dit traité conformément aux conditions de la triple alliance et des engagements qui en dépendent.

3. Que s'il écheoit au Roi très Chrétien cy après de nouveaux titres et droits sur la Monarchie d'Espagne, a été convenu entre le Roi de la Grande Bretagne et le Roi très Chrétien, que le dit seigneur Roi de la Grande Bretagne assistera le dit seigneur Roi très Chrétien de toutes ses forces tant par mer que par terre, pour faciliter l'acquisition des dites droits, le tout aux

frais de sa Majesté très Chrétien ; et à fin d'obvier à toutes disputes qui pourroient arriver sur l'ajustement du compte des dites troupes, a été arrêté et convenu entre les dites seigneurs Rois que la levée et transport de toutes les troupes de terre dont le Roi très Chrétien aura besoin, ou pourra requirer, se feront aux frais du dit seigneur Roi très Chrétien ; et ce présent traité conclu, on arrêtera par après des articles particuliers tant concernant la paye et subsistance des dites troupes de terre, que pour régler la maniere et les conditions aux quelles elles auront à servir ; mais d'autant qu'on ne peut pas si bien faire le calcul des frais d'une armée navale, sujette à tant d'accidens, et composée de tant de pièces, et pourtant qu'il est nécessaire de reduire le tout à un chef, a été arrêté que les forces navales qui seront employées, comme dit est, au service du Roi très Chrétien, seront payées par sa dite Majesté très Chrétien à raison de 3^l, sterlings 16 schelings par tête chacun mois, y comprenant la paye de tous officiers, commandans, mariniers, les victuailles, munitions de guerre, appareils, radoubemens et perte de vaisseaux durant la guerre, et cela depuis le tems que les dites troupes seront levées jusqu' à celui auquel on les congédiera, à compter 28 jours mois ; et à ces conditions on fournira tel nombre de vaisseaux de la force que sa Majesté très Chrétien jugera nécessaire pour son service, dans le tems qu'il sera marqué pour cela. Et d'autant qu'il se pourra faire qu'on demandera cette assistance pour remettre à l'obéissance de sa Majesté très Chrétien, quelques provinces et places éloignées vers la mer méditerranée, qui sont à présent sous l'obéissance des Espagnols ; et qu'il sera incommode, même impossible aux flottes de sa Majesté Brittanique de tenir la mer, sans avoir quelques ports et havres en propre où elles puissent se retirer de tems en tems pour se radouer, prendre les munitions de bouche et de guerre nécessaire, et avoir des magasins et lieux propres pour se refaire, a été convenu entre les dits seigneurs Rois, que le Roi de la Grande Bretagne aura à lui, ses hoirs et successeurs, à jamais l'île de Minorque ; comme aussi pour

plus

plus grande commodité de ses forces de terre et de mer aura à lui, ses hoirs et successeurs, le port et la ville d'Ostende dans les Pays bas, avec la contrée d'alentour qui sera jugée capable de payer assez de contributions pour faire subsister la garnison qu'on jugera nécessaire d'y entretenir ; et pour prendre les dites places et les mettre en mains de sa Majesté Britannique, le Roi très Chrétien fera les mêmes efforts et emploiera autant de troupes qu'il emploie pour prendre les places, dont la possession lui doit demeurer. De plus sa Majesté très Chrétien promet et s'engage tant en son nom qu'en celui de la Reine très chrétienne, ses heritiers, successeurs, et ayans cause (les dits droits sur la Monarchie d'Espagne lui étant échus) d'assister le Roi de la Grand Bretagne à se rendre maître des contrées et places en Amerique qui sont à présent sous l'obéissance des Espagnols, et de faire tout son possible pour obliger les peuples qui habitent ces pays et places de l'Amerique de se soumettre au gouvernement du dit seigneur Roi d'Angleterre, ses hoirs et successeurs ; et s'étant soumis, ou étant réduits à se soumettre, les dits peuples seront toujours réputés sujets du dit seigneur Roi de la Grande Bretagne, et de ses hoirs et successeurs. A été conclu et arrêté qu' aucun des dits seigneurs Rois ne pourra faire la paix, sans le consentement et approbation de l'autre, avec quelque Prince ou Etat que ce soit qui se feroient opposés aux droits et justes titres dévolus au Roi très Chrétien, ainsi que dit est auparavant.

4. Item il est arrêté entre les deux susdits seigneurs Rois, qu'on fera la guerre avec toutes leurs forces de terre et de mer aux etats généraux des Provinces Unies des Pays bas ; et que les dits seigneurs Rois déclareront tous traités précédens avec les dits Etats nuls, excepté celui déjà mentionné de la Triple Alliance fait ensuite du traité d'Aix-la-Chapelle, et aucun des dits seigneurs Rois ne fera la paix avec eux sans l'avis et consentement de l'autre. Tout commerce entre les

sujets des dits seigneurs Rois et des dits Etats sera défendu, et si les sujets d'aucuns des dits seigneurs Rois trafiquent avec les sujets des dits Etats, les navires et biens de tels sujets ainsi trafiquans pourront être saisis par les sujets de l'autre seigneur Roi, et seront réputés de juste prise. Que si après la déclaration de la guerre on prend prisonniers les sujets d'aucun des dits seigneurs Rois qui se trouveront enrôlés au service des dits Etats, ils seront exécutés à mort par le seigneur Roi dont les sujets les auront pris. Et d'autant que le senat et république de Hambourg sont liés d'intérêts avec les Etats Généraux, et que l'expérience fait voir que la dite république assistera toujours sous main les dits Etats, a été de plus arrêté et conclu, que la guerre sera déclarée en même tems aussi par les dits seigneurs Rois contre le dit senat et république. Et comme les préparations de mer pour terminer heureusement la guerre seront nécessairement excessifs, et que ce fardeau beaucoup plus pesant que celui d'une armée de terre, tombera principalement sur sa Majesté Britannique, le Roi très Chrétien s'engage de payer tous les ans au dit seigneur Roi de la Grande Bretagne tant que la guerre durera, la somme de 800 mille livres sterling par voie de subside, pour défrayer une partie de la très grande dépense qui sera nécessaire au Roi de la Grande Bretagne de faire en équipant toutes ses forces navales ; ainsi qu'il se propose et s'oblige de faire tous les ans durant le cours de cette guerre. La moitié de la dite somme de 800 mille livres sterling sera fournie et avancée au dit seigneur Roi de la Grande Bretagne trois mois devant la déclaration de la dite guerre, et l'autre moitié six mois après la dite déclaration ; et ainsi annuellement, aussi longtems que cette guerre durera, la moitié au commencement de chaque année, et l'autre moitié six mois après. Outre la dite flotte sa Majesté Britannique entretiendra toujours sur pied un corps de 6000 fantassins, qu'il transportera à ses frais. Et de toute la conquête qui se fera sur les Etats Généraux, le

Roi

Roi de la Grande Bretagne se contentera des places qui s'ensuivent, savoir, l'Isle de Walkren, l'Ecluse, avec l'Isle de Cassante. Et la maniere d'attaquer, et de continuer la guerre sera ajustée par un règlement qui sera cy après concerté. Et d'autant que la dissolution du gouvernement des Etats Généraux, qui est la fin principale qu'on se propose dans cette guerre, apportera nécessairement de grands préjudices au Prince d'Orange, neveu du Roi d'Angleterre, et même qu'il se trouve des places, villes, et gouvernemens qui luy appartiennent dans le partage qu'on se propose de faire du pays, il a été arrêté et conclu que les dits seigneurs Rois feront leur possible à ce que le dit Prince trouve ses avantages dans la continuation et la fin de cette guerre, ainsi qu'il sera cy après stipulé dans des articles à part, puisqu'il est à presumer que le crédit que l'on donnera par là au dit Prince et à ses adhérens, contribuera beaucoup au bon succès de cette guerre ; au moins jettera telles semences de jalousies et de divisions parmi les Hollandois, que la conquête du pays en sera bien plus aisée.

5. Item a été arrêté qu' avant la déclaration de cette guerre, les dits seigneurs Rois feront tous leurs efforts conjointement ou en particulier, selon que l'occasion le pourra requérir, pour persuader aux Rois de Suede et Denmarck, ou à l'un d'eux, d'entrer en cette guerre contre les Etats Généraux, au moins de les obliger à se tenir neutres ; et l'on tâchera de même d'attirer dans ce parti les Electeurs de Cologne et de Brandebourg, la maison de Brunswick, le Duc de Neubourg, et l'Evêque de Munster. Les dits seigneurs Rois feront aussi possible pour persuader même à l'Empereur et à la couronne d'Espagne, de ne s'opposer pas à la conquête du dit pays.

6. Ces fondemens étant posés, et le Roi de la Grande Bretagne après s'être déclaré Catholique, étant en paix chez lui, laisse au Roi très Chrétien la liberté de nommer le tems, auquel on aura à faire la guerre avec leurs forces unies contre les Etats Généraux ; et ainsi a été arrêté et conclu que le Roi très Chrétien nommera le tems qui lui semblera la plus opportun pour la déclaration de la dite guerre ; le Roi de la Grande Bretagne étant assuré que sa Majesté très Chrétien en nommant le dit tems, aura égard aux intérêts des deux couronnes, qui après la conclusion de ce traité seront communs et inséparables.

7. Si à l'occasion de cet accord l'un ou l'autre des dites seigneurs Rois se trouve cy après engagé dans des guerres etrangeres ou domestiques, celui des deux seigneurs Rois qui ne sera point attaqué assistera l'autre de toutes ses forces, jusqu' à ce que l'étranger ou la rebellion puisse être appaisée.

8. Si dans aucun traité précédent fait par l'un ou l'autre des dits seigneurs Rois avec quelque Prince ou Etat que ce soit, il se trouve des clauses contraires à celles qui sont spécifiées dans cette Ligue, les dites clauses seront nulles, et celles qui son contenues dans ce présent traité demeureront en leur force et vigueur.

*Copy of a memorial remitted to Mr. Belin to Mr. Colbert, 18 Dec. 1666.—Charles is to get 200,000*l.* for declaring himself Catholic.—France is to assist him with troops if his subjects rebel.—If the King of Spain dies without issue, Spain is to be divided ; England to get Minorca, Ostend and Spanish America ; and France to get the rest of the Spanish dominions.—Holland to be divided between France and England, and provision to be made for the young Prince of Orange. King Charles to have 800,000*l.* a year during the Dutch war.—War to be declared against Hamburgh.*

Project of a secret treaty of perpetual league and confederacy between the King of Great Britain and the most Christian King.

IT hath been treated, agreed and concluded that there shall be for ever a good, sure, and firm peace, union, true brothership, confederacy, friendship, alliance, and good correspondence between the King of Great Britain, his heirs and successors of the one part, and the most Christian King of the other part ; and between all and every of their kingdoms, states and territories ; between their subjects and vassals that they now have and possess, or that they may hereafter have and possess as well by sea and fresh waters as by land. And as a testimony that this peace shall remain inviolable, and beyond the power of any thing in the world to disturb it, there follow articles of so great confidence, and otherwise so advantageous to the said sovereign Lords, that it is hardly possible to find in any age more important ones agreed and concluded upon. The King of Great Britain being convinced of the truth of the Catholic religion, and resolved to declare himself a Catholic, and be reconciled to the church of Rome, thinks the assistance of his most Christian Majesty necessary to facilitate his design : It is therefore agreed and concluded upon, that his most Christian Majesty shall furnish to
the

the King of England, before the said declaration, the sum of two hundred thousand pounds sterling; the one half of the said sum shall be paid three months after the reciprocal ratification of the present treaty; and the other half three months after the expiration of that time: and farther, that the said Lord the most Christian King, shall assist his Britannick Majesty with troops and money as often as there shall be need, in case the subjects of the said Lord the King shall not acquiesce with the said declaration, but rebel against his said Britannick Majesty (which cannot be believed.) And to the end that the said declaration may have the wished for success, and be executed with the greater safety, it is likewise agreed that the day for executing the design shall be entirely in the option of the King of England.

2. It is also agreed between the most Christian King and his Britannick Majesty, that the said Lord the most Christian King shall not break nor ever infringe the peace he hath made with Spain; and that he will not controvert in any manner what he hath promised by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle; and consequently the King of Great Britain shall be allowed to maintain the said treaty conformable to the conditions of the triple alliance and the engagements that depend thereon.

3. That if there should fall hereafter to the most Christian King any new rights and titles on the Spanish monarchy, it is agreed between the King of Great Britain and the most Christian King, that the said King of Great Britain shall assist the said most Christian King with all his forces, as well by sea as land, to facilitate the acquisition of the said rights; the whole at the expence of the most Christian King. And in order to obviate all disputes that may happen about adjusting the accounts of the said troops, it is concluded and agreed between the said Lords the Kings, that the levying and transporting all the land forces which the most Christian King shall have occasion for, or may require,

quire, shall be at the expence of the said most Christian King; and the present treaty being concluded, particular articles shall hereafter be adjusted, as well touching the pay and subsistence of the said land forces, as to regulate the manner and conditions upon which they are to serve: But as a calculation cannot well be made of the expences of a naval armament, subject to such a variety of accidents, and composed of so many parts, it is necessary to reduce the whole to one head; it is therefore agreed that the naval forces which shall be employed, as abovementioned, in the service of the most Christian King, shall be paid by his said most Christian Majesty at the rate of 3l. 16s. a man per month, including the pay of all officers, and sailors, the provision, ammunition, rigging, wear, and loss of ships during the war; and that from the time the said troops shall be raised till they are discharged, computing 28 days to a month; and on these conditions such a number of ships shall be furnished, and of such force as his most Christian Majesty shall judge necessary for his service, and at such time as he shall think proper; and as it may happen that this assistance will be demanded to bring under his most Christian Majesty's obedience some distant provinces and places towards the Mediterranean, which at present are under subjection to the Spaniards, and that it may be inconvenient, nay, impossible for his Britannick Majesty's fleets to keep the sea, without having some ports and havens where they may from time to time put in to careen, get provisions and ammunitions, and have magazines and proper places to rest, it is agreed between the said sovereign Lords, that the King of Great Britain shall have for ever for himself, his heirs and successors, the island of Minorca; as also for the greater convenience of his land and sea forces, shall have to himself, his heirs and successors, the port and town of Ostend in the Low Countries, with as much of the country round about, as shall be judged capable of paying as much contribution as will subsist such a garrison as it shall be judged necessary to keep

keep there ; and in order to take the said places and put his Britannick Majesty in possession of them, the most Christian King will use the same efforts, and employ as many troops as he shall to take the places the possession of which are to remain with him. And farther, his most Christian Majesty promises and engages, as well in his own name as that of the most Christian queen, their heirs and successors, and having cause (the before-named claims on the Spanish monarchy being fallen to him) to assist the King of Great Britain to make himself master of the countries and places in America, which at present are under the Spanish domination, and to do all in his power to oblige the people who inhabit those countries and places in America, to submit themselves to the government of the said Lord the King of England, his heirs and successors ; and having submitted themselves or being reduced to submission; the said people shall always be accounted subjects of the said Lord the King of Great Britain, and of his heirs and successors. It is also agreed and concluded, that neither of the said sovereigns shall make a peace; without the consent and approbation of the other, with any Prince or State whatever, who shall oppose the just rights and titles devolved to the most Christian King as is before-mentioned.

4. It is covenanted between the said two Sovereigns, that they shall make war against the States General of the united Provinces with all their forces by land and sea ; and the said Sovereigns shall declare all treaties heretofore made with the said States null, except that already mentioned of the triple alliance made in consequence of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, and neither of the said Kings shall make peace with the said States without the consent of the other. All commerce between the subjects of the said Kings and of the said States shall be prohibited ; and if the subjects of either of the said Sovereigns traffic with the subjects of the said States, the ships and goods of such subjects so trading

trading shall be seized by the subjects of the other, and deemed lawful prizes; and if after the declaration of war the subjects of either of the said Sovereigns shall be enrolled in the service of the said States and taken prisoners; they shall be punished with death by the Sovereign whose subjects shall take them. And forasmuch as the senate and republick of Hamburgh are united in interests with the States General, and experience having shewn that the said republick will always assist the said States under hand, it is farther agreed and concluded upon that war shall be declared at the same time by the said Sovereigns against the said senate and republick: and as the preparations by sea, in order to bring the war to a happy issue, will necessarily be excessive, and that the burthen (much more heavy than that of an army at land) will principally fall upon his Britannick Majesty, the most Christian King engages to pay to the King of Great Britain, so long as the war shall continue, the sum of eight hundred thousand pounds sterling by way of subsidy to defray a part of the very great expence which the King of Great Britain must necessarily be at in fitting out all his naval force; which he proposes and obliges himself to do every year during the course of this war. The half of the said sum of 800,000*l.* sterling shall be furnished and advanced to the said King of Great Britain three months before the declaration of the said war, and the other half six months after the said declaration; and thus annually, as long as the war shall last, the half in the beginning of each year, and the other half six months after. Besides the said fleet, his Britannick Majesty will always keep on foot a body of 6000 infantry, which he will transport at his own expence; and of all the conquests that shall be made upon the States General, the King of Great Britain will be satisfied with the following places, to wit, the island of Walkeron, l'Ecluse, and the island of Cassante. The manner of attack, and continuing the war shall be settled by a regulation hereafter to be concerted. And as the dissolution of the government of the States
General,

General, which is the principal end proposed by this war, will necessarily cause great prejudice to the Prince of Orange, nephew to the King of England; and as many places, towns and governments belonging to him will be found in the division it is proposed to make of the country, it hath been agreed and concluded that the said Sovereigns will do all in their power that the said Prince may find his advantages in the continuation and end of this war, as shall be hereafter stipulated in separate articles, since it is to be presumed that the credit they will thereby give to the said Prince and his adherents, will contribute much to the good success of the war; at least will sow such seeds of jealousy and divisions among the Dutch, that the conquest of the country will be rendered much more easy.

5. It is also agreed, that before the declaration of war, the two Sovereigns shall use all their efforts jointly or separately, as occasion may require, to persuade the Kings of Sweden and Denmark; or one of the two, to enter into this war against the States General; or at least to oblige themselves to remain neuter; and they shall also endeavour to draw into this party the Electors of Cologne and Brandenburg, the house of Brunswick, the Duke of Newbourg and the Bishop of Munster. The said Sovereigns shall also do all in their power to persuade the Emperor and the Crown of Spain not to oppose the conquest of the said country.

6. These fundamentals being settled, and the King of Great Britain after having declared himself a Catholic, and being in peace at home, leaves to the most Christian King the liberty to name the time when they shall make war with their united forces against the States General; it has also been agreed and concluded that the most Christian King shall name the time which shall appear to him most proper for the declaration of the said war; the King of Great Britain being assured that his most Christian Majesty in naming the said time, will

will have regard to the interests of both Crowns, which after the conclusion of this treaty are to be common and inseparable.

7. If upon account of this agreement the one or the other of the said Sovereigns shall find himself hereafter engaged in foreign or domestick wars, the one who is not attacked shall assist the other with all his forces till the foreign war or rebellion shall be ended.

8. If in any preceding treaty made by the one or the other of the said Sovereigns with any Prince or State whatsoever, there should be found any clauses contrary to those which are specified in this league, the said clauses shall be void, and those contained in this present treaty shall remain in their full force and vigour.

From the dispatches in the *Dépot* it appears, that in the course of the treaty France refused to agree to the war against Hamburgh, agreed to give two millions of livres, which was at that time about 150,000*l.* for the King's conversion, with a subsidy of three millions for the Dutch war, and softened the expressions about the money for the King's conversion in the following words :

Projet de la fin de l'article deuxieme.

Le Roi de la grande Bretagne étant convaincu de la vérité de la religion catholique, est résolu de se réconcilier avec l'Eglise Romaine, aussitôt que le bien des affaires de son royaume lui pourra permettre ; et quoi qu'il ait tout sujet d'espérer et de se promettre de l'affection et de la fidélité de tous ses sujets, que ceux mêmes sur qui Dieu n'aura pas encore répandu ses graces assez abondamment pour les disposer par un exemple si auguste à se convertir, ne manqueront pas à l'obéissance inviolable que tous les peuples doivent à leurs souverains,

rains même de religion contraire ; néanmoins comme il se trouve souvent dans les grand etats des esprits brouillons et inquiets qui s'efforcent de troubler le repos public, principalement quand ils en ont des pretextes aussi plausibles que celui de la religion, sa Majesté Britannique qui n'a rien plus à cœur, après avoir donné le repos à sa conscience, que d'affirmer celui que la douceur de son gouvernement a procuré à ses sujets, a crû que le meilleur moyen pour empêcher qu'il ne fût altéré, seroit d'être assuré, en cas de trouble, des assistances de sa Majesté très Chrétien ; laquelle voulant en cette occasion donner au dit Roi de la Grande Bretagne des preuves effectives de son amitié, et du desir qu'elle a de contribuer au bon succès d'un dessein si avantageux à sa Majesté Britannique, et même à toute la religion catholique, a promis et promet de fournir au dit Roi de la Grande Bretagne la somme de, &c.

Translation.

Project of the end of the second Article.—French variation upon the wording of the article of two millions of livres for the King's conversion.

The King of Great Britain being convinced of the truth of the catholick religion, is resolved to reconcile himself to the church of Rome, as soon as the affairs of his kingdom will permit him ; and though he has every reason to hope and promise himself from the affection and fidelity of all his subjects, even those to whom the Almighty has not as yet sufficiently spread his grace to dispose them after such an august example to become converts, that they will not fail in that inviolable obedience which all people, even of a different religion, owe their Sovereigns ; nevertheless there are often found in large states turbulent and inquiet minds who study to disturb the public peace, particularly when they have so plausible a pretext as that of religion, his
Britannick

Britannick Majesty, who hath nothing more at heart, after having given peace to his own conscience, than to confirm that which the mildness of his government hath procured to his subjects, believes the best means to prevent its being altered, would be the certainty, in case of trouble, of his most Christian Majesty's assistance ; who being willing on this occasion to give the said King of Great Britain effective proofs of his friendship, and the desire he hath to contribute to the good success of a design so advantageous to his Britannick Majesty and the whole catholick religion, hath promised and doth hereby promise to furnish to the said King of Great Britain the sum of, &c.

In making this treaty King Charles knew well how disagreeable his connexion with France would be to his people. Colbert repeats what Charles said to him on this head as follows :

Lettre Monsr. Colbert au Monsr. de Lyonne.—Charles told him he was the almost only man in his kingdom in the interest of France.

20 Aug. 1668.

IL me disoit, qu'il se trouvoit quasi le seul dans son royaume qui ait des inclinations pour la France ; que toutes ses sujets étoient beaucoup plus portés pour l'Espagne, et qu'il avoit bien des mesures à garder.

Translation.

HE (that is, King Charles) told me, that he found himself as it were the only person in his kingdom who had inclinations for France ; that all his subjects were more disposed in favour of Spain ; and that therefore he had many measures to preserve.

From the French dispatches at Versailles it appears, that the almost only difference between the two courts about the secret treaty was, that Charles insisted to begin with the declaration of his popery ; whereas Louis the XIVth was eager that he should begin with declaring war in conjunction with him against Holland. It is probable that the view of the Dutchess of Orleans' journey to Dover to meet her brother, was to prevail with him to yield this point to France. Part of a letter from Colbert at Dover to Louis the XIVth is as follows :

*Part of a Letter from Monsr. Colbert to Louis the XIVth.
The Dutchess of Orleans tries to persuade her brother to
make the Dutch war precede the declaration of his popery,*

Douvres, 30 Mai, 1670.

In the *Depot*.

MADAME m'a dit, qu' elle avoit ebranlé l'esprit du roy son frere, et qu' elle le voyoit presque disposé à declarer la guerre aux Hollandois avant toutes choses.

Translation.

MADAME told me, that she had shaken her brother's mind, and that she saw him almost disposed to declare war against the Dutch before every other thing.

The same letter adds, that Charles was desirous Marshal Turenne should come over to Dover to fix the plan of the war, but that he, Colbert, had dissuaded King Charles from it, as a thing which would make too much noise.

A few days however after this, it appears from the dispatches in the *Depot*, that the treaty was concluded upon its original plan by the four popish commissioners, and unknown to the King's protestant ministers. The
treaty

treaty itself is not in the *Depot* ; but there is the following private ratification of it by Louis the XIVth.

Lettre du Roi au Roi d'Angleterre du 10 Juin, 1670.

Monsieur mon frere,

J, Ai vû et examiné les articles du traité, qui a été In the *Depot*.
22 Mai
conclu et signé à Douvre le 1 Juin par le seigneur Colbert mon Ambassadeur, et par les mylords Arlington et Arundel de Warder, et les seigneurs Chevaliers Clifford et Berlings vos commissaires ; et quoique j'aye fait expédier ce jourd'hui mes lettres de ratification en la meilleure forme qu'il a été possible, et suivant ce qui a été convenu entre les dits seigneurs ambassadeur et commissaires ; neammoins comme ils ont trouvé à propos pour tenir ce traité d'autant plus secret jusqu' à ce qu'il soit tems de le mettre à execution, que nos lettres de ratification ne soyent point scellées de nos grands sceaux, mais seulement de ceux de notre secret ; j'ai crû devoir encore assurer votre Majesté par ces lignes de ma propre main, que j'approuve et ratifie tout les contenu au dit traité, et que je promet en foi et parole de Roi, de l'observer et de l'entretenir inviolablement en tous ses points, sans jamais y contre venir en quelque maniere que ce puisse être. J'espere que Dieu bénira nôtre étroite union d'amitié et d'intérêts de tout le bon succès que nous en souhaitons, et pour sa gloire et pour la bonheur commun de nos sujets. Je suis, &c.

Translation.

*Letter of Louis the XIVth to the King of England, dated
10 June, 1670.*

Sir, my Brother,

I HAVE seen and examined the articles of the treaty that was concluded and signed at Dover the 22 May
1 June by Mr. Colbert my ambassador, and the lords

Arlington and Arundel of Wardour, and the Chevaliers Clifford and Beling, your commissioners; and tho' I have this day caused my letters of ratification to be expedited in the best form possible, and agreeable to what had been agreed between the said ambassador and commissioners; nevertheless as they have thought proper, in order to keep this treaty a greater secret till it be time to put it in execution, that our letters of ratification should not be sealed with our great seals, but only with our privy ones, I thought it necessary to assure your Majesty by these lines written with my own hand, that I approve and ratify all the contents of the said treaty, and I promise on the faith and word of a King to observe and keep them inviolably in all points, without ever acting contrary thereto in any manner whatsoever. I hope God will bless our strict union of friendship and interests with all the good success we can wish from it, as well for his own glory as the common good of our subjects. I am, &c.

A letter from Colbert in the *Depot* of the 16 Oct. 1670, mentions Charles's ratification to have been 'la signature du roy avec son sceau et une lettre de sa main.' 'The King's signature and seal, and a letter by his hand.'

There is some reason to believe, that whilst King Charles was finishing the treaty which reserved to him a power of making the declaration of his popery precede the declaration of the war against Holland, he gave the French reason to hope that his inclinations were to begin with the latter. In the *Depot* there is the following letter from Mons. Colbert.

Lettre

Lettre de Mr. Colbert au Roi, du 6 Juin, 1670. — Charles intends by driving the Dissenters to extremities, to get a pretence for strengthening his military force. — Delays to begin the Dutch war till he sees the effect of that intention.

Sire,

LE Roi d'Angleterre, le duc d'York, et mylord Arlington ont très bien reçu les compliments que votre Majesté m'a ordonné de leur faire de sa part. Et je les ai trouvés tous bien disposés à ne point perdre de tems à l'exécution des choses qui ont été promises ; il n'y en a pas néanmoins encore de déterminé pour le principal point, et on ne prétend pas même le fixer qu'on ne soit de retour à Londres, et qu'on n'ait vu quelles suites pourra avoir la sévérité avec laquelle le Roi a dessein de faire observer le dernier acte du parlement contre les assemblés des sectaires ; et il espere que leur désobéissance lui facilitera les moyens de fortifier ses troupes, et de parvenir bientôt au but qu'il se propose : il a cependant approuvé les raisons qu'a eu votre Majesté de ne pas consentir au passage de Mr. de Turenne en ce pays. Il m'a témoigné aussi se rendre à celles qui obligent votre Majesté de donner part à Mr. l'Electeur de Cologne et à l'Evêque de Munster de votre union contre la Hollande : mais madame m'a dit depuis qu'il avoit encore pris du tems pour en délibérer et donner une réponse précise. J'espere qu'elle la reportera telle que votre Majesté la souhaite ; Mylord Arlington m'ayant dit ce matin qu'il estimoit qu'on ne devoit pas différer de faire cette confidence à ces Princes, en leur faisant promettre de ne communiquer ce secret à personne.

Pour ce qui regarde la négociation de Vanbeuning, elle est bien en garde contre lui, d'empêcher qu'il ne fasse rien qui puisse apporter quelque retardement à ce qui a été conclu, et de le congédier le plutôt qu'on pourra, sans lui donner aucune satisfaction.

Voilà, Sire, tout ce que j'ose me donner l'honneur d'écrire à votre Majesté sur ces affaires par le voie de l'ordinaire.

Madame fait état de partir Jeudi prochain, et je crois qu'un plus long séjour à Douvres deviendroit fort ennuyeux, et porteroit préjudice aux affaires du Roi son frere, dont la présence semble bien nécessaire à Londres à présent. Je suis, &c.

(Signé) COLBERT.

Translation.

Mr. Colbert's Letter to Louis the XIVth.

Sire, Dover, 6 June, 1670.
THE King of England, the duke of York, and my lord Arlington have received extremely well the compliments that your Majesty ordered me to make them on your part. I found them all well disposed not to lose any time in the execution of the things that have been promised. There is nothing however yet determined for the principal point, and they don't even pretend to fix it till they return to London, and see what may follow from the severity with which the King designs to make the last act of parliament against the meetings of the sectaries be observed; and he hopes that their disobedience will give him the easier means of encreasing the force of his troops, and coming speedily to the end he proposes: he hath approved of your Majesty's reasons for not consenting to M. de Turenne's journey into this country. He seemed also to acquiesce with those which obliged your Majesty to communicate your union against Holland, to the elector of Cologne and the bishop of Munster: but madame has told me since, that he had again taken time to deliberate on it and give a precise answer. I hope

hope it will be such as your Majesty wishes; my lord Arlington having this morning told me that he thought they should not defer placing this confidence in those Princes, on their promising not to communicate the secret to any body.

As to what regards Vanbeuning's negociation, his Majesty takes a great deal of care to hinder him from doing any thing that might cause a hindrance to what has been concluded, and to dismiss him the earliest that can be without giving him any satisfaction.

This, Sire, is all I dare do myself the honour of writing to your Majesty upon these affairs by the post.

Madame thinks of leaving this place next Thursday, and I believe a longer stay at Dover would be very troublesome, and do prejudice to the affairs of the King her brother, whose presence seems to be extremely necessary in London.

I am, &c.

(Signed) COLBERT.

Charles not having received any of the money stipulated for his conversion, still delayed preparing for the Dutch war, under pretence that he was first to declare his conversion. Colbert having received orders from Louis the XIVth, on the 17 September 1670, to urge him on this head, writes the following account of the arguments which he used with King Charles.

Recit de ce qui a ete dit au Roi d' Angleterre par l'ambassadeur de France, dans la conference du 28 Septembre, 1670.

In the Depot.

COMME il y aura bientôt trois mois que les ratifications du traité ont été échangées, le Roi mon maitre croit que votre Majesté trouvera à propos de prendre sans delai sa dernière resolution sur l'exécution de ce qui y est contenu, à fin que vous puissiez prendre ensemble des mesures certaines ; car votre Majesté voit combien le tems pressé déjà, et que pour pouvoir faire quelque chose de bon contre les Hollandois, et achever promptement l'affaire, il faut commencer à entrer en action, s'il est humainement possible, dès le commencement du printems prochain ; d'autant plus que si on ne le fait pas, on s'exposera à l'inconvenient qui est fort grand, de ne pouvoir engager dans le parti un bon nombre de Princes de l'Empire, les quels le Roi mon maitre voit clair à les faire entrer dès à présent, et votre Majesté sait combien leur jonction, et une diversion considerable de ce côté là, peut contribuer au bon et prompt succès du dessein, et à sa sûreté infailible.

Votre Majesté fera encore réflexion, s'il lui plaît, sur le besoin indispensable qu' a le Roi mon maitre de faire de bonne heure, et dans cette année même, des magasins de toute sorte de guerre et de bouche dans les états de l'Electeur de Cologne, et de l'Evêque de Munster ; au lieu que si votre Majesté ne se détermine pas promptement, il sera plus facile aux Hollandois, dès qu'ils auront pris plus vivement l'alarme qu'ils ont déjà, de détourner ces Princes de l'engagement où vous les voulés jetter, en y sacrifiant de grandes sommes d'argent, comme il ne faut pas douter qu'ils ne fassent avec profusion, pour les faire demeurer neutres, et même pour former aussi de ce côté là quelque parti pour leur défense.

Il est vrai, Sire, qu'il semble que selon les termes du traité, votre Majesté doit premierement faire sa déclaration

claration de Catholicité, et je puis bien lui dire aussi avec vérité, que le Roi mon maître le souhaite avec la dernière passion, tant pour l'avantage de la religion, que pour ses propres intérêts politiques ; mais comme vous trouvé, à propos, et qu'il est juste aussi et même absolument nécessaire, d'obtenir auparavant du pape les conditions qui peuvent faire agréer à vos sujets votre conversion ; et que cette affaire, quelque diligence que l'on fasse, ne se terminera pas peut être si promptement que le Roi mon maître et votre Majesté le desiront : il vous prie de faire encore réflexion sur toutes les raisons qui le persuadent, que pour parvenir plus facilement et plus sûrement aux deux principales fins que vous êtes proposées, il seroit nécessaire que la guerre de Hollande précédât, ou au moins accompagnât la déclaration de la Catholicité ; et sur cela je dois informer votre Majesté d'une particularité dont le Roi mon maître m'a écrit, qui est de grande conséquence. Vous savez combien il importe pour la sûreté et le bon succès de votre dessein contre les Hollandois, que l'Electeur de Brandebourg soit de la partie, sans quoi les autres Princes ne s'engageroient avec vous qu'en tremblant. Or sur le sujet, &c. de même qu'en la lettre du Roi du 17me. Votre Majesté peut tirer de là une conséquence fort juste combien, &c. idem jusques à avant que la chose éclatte.

On pourra dire à votre Majesté sur tout ceci, que si avant la déclaration de sa Catholicité elle n'a rien fait qui puisse faire craindre ou soupçonner aux Hollandois qu'elle ait pris des liaisons contre eux avec le Roi mon maître, ils se tiendront dans une plein repos, et ne prendront aucune part à l'affaire, et même qu'ils n'oseroient le faire par la vive appréhension qui leur resteroit toujours, que votre Majesté ne leur en témoignât aussitôt son ressentiment en s'unissant contr' eux avec la France. Le Roi mon maître a déjà fait remarquer à votre Majesté par ses réponses, et il m'ordonne encore de vous remettre en mémoire le peu de solidité de cette espérance. Si on fait reflexion que votre Majesté se vou-

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lant conduire avec toutes les circonspections requises dans une si grande affaire, il lui fera d'une indispensable nécessité pour mieux contenir vos peuples dans le devoir, qu' avant l'acte de vôtre déclaration ou tout au moins en le faisant, vour leur donniés à connoître que vous avés fait une très étroite liaison avec le Roi mon maitre, par le moyen de la quelle, si vous le voulés, vous pourrés disposer de toutes les forces de la France contre vos ennemis, soit domestiques, soit étrangers : et de là votre Majesté peut juger si la connoissance de cette union étant de cette sorte devenu publique, les Hollandois s'abstiendront de prendre part à l'affaire par la crainte de promouvoir entre les deux Rois une liason qu'ils verroient déjà toute formée, en sans autre remede à leur égard que celui de tâcher à susciter des embarras à votre Majesté dans ses propres etats ; mais le Roi mon maitre juge que ce ne seroit pas encore là le seul motif de l'interêt qu'ils y prendroient, car ils reconnoitroient d'ailleurs qu'un Roi d'Angleterre Catholique étroitement lié d'amitié et d'interêts avec le Roi mon maitre, et l'un et l'autre piqués et offensés de leur conduite passée par tant de différentes injures qu'ils en ont reçues, ne les laisseroient pas jouir longtems aussi paisiblement qu'ils font aujourd'hui des principaux avantages du commerce de tout le monde ; et des là on doit croire que les Hollandois ne garderoient plus aucunes mesures pour parer ce coup de leur ruine, jettant leurs trésors à pleines mains, et épuisant même, s'il étoit nécessaire leur crédit, pour former, appuyer et maintenir contre votre Majesté un grand parti dans votre royaume, qui ne manque jamais de mécontents et de brouillons, lors même qu'ils en ont bien moins de sujet que n'en fourneroit le prétexte du changement de religion du Souverain, que votre Majesté fait n'être toujours que trop plausible dans une populace ; votre Majesté par commence attaquer les Hollandois conjointement avec la France, le Roi mon maitre est persuadé que cette attaque produiroit d'abord tant de confusion et de désordre dans leurs provinces, qu' outre qu'elles ne seroient plus en état de
troubler

troubler l'Angleterre, il arriveroit encore que le parti du royaume qui leur est le plus affectionné, ne voyant point de ressource à leurs affaires, se tiendrait toujours attaché au plus fort qui seroit celui de votre Majesté ; au lieu que si vous faites précéder la déclaration de la Catholicité à l'attaque, les Hollandois voyant évidemment par le changement de religion de votre Majesté, tout le mal inevitable qui leur en arriveroit dans la suite, prendroient des l'instant même toutes les mesures et résolutions nécessaires pour former contre vous des factions et des revoltes dans vos propres états, à quoi ils trouveroient de très grand faciliter pour les raisons que je viens de dire. En fin, Sire, ce que le Roi mon maitre propose n'apportera pas de retardement à l'execution de votre dessein ; au contraire il en produira l'entiere sûreté et abrégera notablement le tems au quel votre Majesté pourra faire sa déclaration ; car le Roi mon maitre n'est pas persuadé que pour en venir à cet acte vous soyés obligé d'attendre la fin de la guerre de Hollande, mais après qu'elle vous aura fourni les prétextes de vous armer, il croit que le tems le plus propre pour votre déclaration seroit au milieu d'une guerre heureuse, quand vous pourriés faire toucher au doigt à vos sujets, que vous êtes sur le point de leur procurer le grand avantage des principaux profits du commerce du monde, dont les Hollandois les frustreroient par leur puissance et par l'application qu'ils donnoient à les attirer tous à leurs états avec une avidité insatiable. De sorte que les marchands étant satisfaits par cette raison de commerce, tout ce qu'il y a de braves officers et soldats dans votre royaume occupés à la guerre d'Hollande, les Presbyteriens et sectaires contens de libre exercice que vous leur aurés accordé, et les principaux de votre conseil engagés dans cette guerre par la part que vous leur allés donner au traité, et obligés d'ailleurs par leur honneur et la fidélité qu'ils vous doivent, non seulement à faire leur devoir, mais aussi à y porter tous ceux du parlement sur qu'ils ont du crédit, il ne restera aucun sujet de craindre, que votre déclaration étant faite dans
cette

cette conjoncture, puisse exciter le moindre trouble dans vos états : Votre majesté suppléera par ses lumieres et par la parfaite connoissance de l'état de son royaume, et de celui de ses voisins, à toutes les autres raisons que j'obmets pour ne pas être trop ennuyeux ; et après qu'elle y aura fait toute la réflexion que l'importance de la matiere mérite, il lui plaira me faire savoir ses dernieres résolutions, à fin que j'en informe le Roi mon maitre.

Translation.

Relation of what was said to the King of England by the French Ambassador in the Conference of the 28 Sept. 1670.

He presses Charles to begin with the Dutch war before declaring himself a Catholic.

AS there are very near three months gone since the ratifications of the treaty were exchanged, the King my master believes your Majesty will find it proper to take without delay your last resolution upon the contents of it, to the end that you may pursue together some steady measures ; for your Majesty sees how much the time presses already, and that to be able to do any thing to purpose against the Dutch, and speedily finish the affair, it will be necessary to enter into action, if it is humanly possible, in the beginning of the next spring ; and the more so, as, if it is not done, you will be exposed to the very great inconvenience of not being able to engage in the party a good number of the Princes of the Empire, whom the King my master is clear for engaging now, and your Majesty knows how much their junction, and a considerable diversion on that side, might contribute to the happy and speedy success of the design, and your own infallible safety.

Your.

Your Majesty will also, if you please, reflect on the indispensable necessity the King my master is under to make in good time, and even this year, magazines of provisions and all sorts of warlike stores in the states of the Elector of Cologne and the Bishop of Munster; instead of which, if your Majesty does not speedily determine, it will be much more easy for the Dutch, upon taking the alarm more strongly than they have as yet done, to detach those Princes from the engagement you wish them to enter into, by throwing large sums of money amongst them, as there is no doubt the Dutch will with great profusion do, in order to induce them to remain neuter, and even to form on that side also some party for their defence.

It is true, Sire, it appears, according to the terms of the treaty, that your Majesty ought first to declare yourself a Catholic, and I may with great truth say, that the King my master ardently wishes for it, as well for the advantage of religion as for his own proper political interests: but as you judge it proper, and it is also just, nay absolutely necessary, first to obtain from the Pope the conditions that may render your conversion agreeable to your subjects; and as this affair, whatever diligence is used in it, may not be perhaps so soon terminated as the King my master and your Majesty desire; he begs you will again reflect upon all the reasons which persuade him, that to accomplish more easily and more surely the two principal ends you have proposed, it is necessary the war with Holland should precede, or at least accompany your declaring yourself a Catholick. And upon this I am to inform your Majesty of a particular which the King my master has wrote me of the greatest consequence. You know how important it is for the safety and good success of your design against the Dutch, that the Elector of Brandenburg should be concerned, without which the other Princes would tremble to engage themselves with you. Now on the subject, &c. the same as in the King's
letter

letter of the 17th.—Your Majesty may gather from thence one very just consequence how much, &c. idem, till ‘such time as the affair breaks out.’

Perhaps your Majesty may be told upon all this, that if before the declaration of religion, you do nothing which can cause a fear or suspicion in the Dutch that you have entered into alliance with the King my master against them, they will keep themselves entirely quiet, and take no part in the affair, and the rather that they will not dare to do it from the lively apprehensions which will always remain with them that your Majesty would shew your resentment by uniting yourself with France against them. The King my master has already remarked to your Majesty in his answers, and now orders me to remind you of the little solidity of such hopes. If people reflect, they will see, that if your Majesty desires to proceed with the circumspection necessary in so great an affair, it will be indispensably necessary for you, in order to keep your people in their duty, that before the act of your declaration is made, or at the farthest in making it, you should give them to understand you have made a very strict union with the King my master, by means of which, if you desire it, you can dispose of all the force of France against all your enemies, whether domestick, or foreign: and from thence your Majesty may judge, if the knowledge of this union being in this manner become publick, the Dutch will refrain from taking part in the affair through fear of promoting between the two Kings an alliance which they see already quite formed, and without any other remedy with regard to them, than that of endeavouring to excite embarrassments in your Majesty’s own states; but the King my master judges that this would not be the only motive for interesting themselves in such an event, for they would recollect that a Catholick King of England strictly bound in friendship and interests with the King my master, and both Princes piqued and offended at their past conduct on account of so many different injuries received from them, would not let them

them enjoy long so peaceably as they do now the principal advantages of the trade of the whole world ; and from thence it cannot be doubted, that the Dutch would stick at no measures to ward off this stroke tending to their ruin, but would throw their treasures by handfuls, and even exhaust if it were necessary their credit, to form, support and maintain against your Majesty a strong party in your kingdom; which seldom wants discontented and turbulent people, even though they had a much less subject than the change of the Sovereign's religion would furnish them with, which your Majesty knows is always too plausible a one with the populace; on the contrary, if your Majesty begins by attacking the Dutch jointly with France, the King my master is persuaded that this attack will immediately produce so much confusion and disorder in their provinces, that besides their not being in a condition to trouble England, that part of the kingdom which is the most affectionate to them, not seeing any resource to their affairs, would keep themselves attached to the strongest side, which would be that of your Majesty ; instead of which, if you cause the declaration of religion to precede the attack, the Dutch evidently seeing from your Majesty's change of religion the inevitable evil that must happen to them in the end, would from that instant take all the necessary measures and resolutions to form against you factions and revolts in your kingdom, which they would find not very difficult, for the reasons I have just mentioned. In fine, Sire, what the King my master proposes will occasion no delay in the execution of your design ; on the contrary, it will make it entirely sure, and abridge considerably the time for your Majesty's making the declaration ; for the King my master is not of opinion that to accomplish this act you need be obliged to wait the end of the war with Holland, but after you are furnished with the pretences for arming, he thinks the most proper time for your declaration would be in the midst of a successful war, when you could make your subjects feel that you were on the point of procuring

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them the great advantage of the principal profits of the trade of the world, of which the Dutch would frustrate them by their power and their close application to draw all to themselves with an insatiable greediness. The consequence of which would be, that the merchants being satisfied with this commercial reason, all your brave officers and soldiers occupied in the war with Holland, the Presbyterians and sectaries content with the free exercise of religion which you will grant them, and the principal persons of your council engaged in this war by the part you are about to give them in the treaty, and otherwise obliged by the honour and faith they owe you, not only to do their duty, but also to keep all those to it in parliament with whom they have credit, there will not remain the least ground to fear, that your declaration being made in this conjuncture, can excite the smallest troubles in your kingdoms. Your Majesty's penetration, and perfect knowledge of the state of your own kingdom, and that of your neighbours, will suggest to you all the other reasons, which I omit, to avoid being tiresome; and after you have made all the reflection that the importance of the matter merits, your Majesty will please to let me know your ultimate resolutions, to the end I may communicate them to the King my master."

Probably Charles's hesitation arose from his consciousness, that in his secret treaty with France, he was supported by none but his popish ministers; for which reason it appears, from the French dispatches in the *Depot*, that he carried on the following very extraordinary intrigue to lay the burden of part of the articles of that treaty upon his protestant ministers.

In the *Depot*.

A letter from Colbert to Louis the XIVth, dated 14 July, 1670, bears, that upon the death of the dutchess of Orleans, Buckingham proposed to go to France with an embassy of condolence, and to try to bring about

about an alliance between the French and English courts; that the King, the duke of York, and lord Arlington were pleased to hear it; that he, Colbert, had encouraged him to it; that Buckingham had proposed it to Lauderdale and Ashley Cooper (afterwards earl of Shaftesbury) that Lauderdale agreed to it, but Ashley Cooper asked time to consider.

On the 28th July, 1670, Colbert writes Louis the XIVth, that King Charles was to send Buckingham ambassador to France, with a view that Louis the XIVth might gain him to bring about a treaty between the two Princes against the Dutch, concealing from him the treaty already made; and several letters bear Charles's permission to the French King to flatter Buckingham with the command of the English troops which were to be employed against the Dutch; that Buckingham had the direction of Ashley Cooper, who had been raised by him; and that the King himself could answer for Lauderdale from the personal attachment which Lauderdale had to him.

In consequence of this, Buckingham went ambassador to France.

On the 25th of August, 1670, Colbert writes Louis the XIVth an account of King Charles's joy upon Louis's having gained Buckingham: that Charles said Buckingham had been always a friend both to the Dutch war and to popery, but that he could not keep a secret: and that Charles had proposed there should be what he called *une traité simulé*, which should be a repetition of the former one in all things except the article relative to the King's declaring himself Roman Catholic; and that the protestant ministers, Buckingham, Ashley Cooper, and Lauderdale, should be brought to be parties to it.

On the 8th of September, 1670, Colbert writes thus to Louis the XIVth.

*Part of Colbert's letter to Louis the XIVth, 8 Sept. 1670.
—King Charles makes a tool of Buckingham in the second secret treaty.*

In the Depot.

LE Roy d'Angleterre et mylord Arlington m'ont dit, qu'on avoit escrit au duc de Bouquingham qu'il pourroit revenir quand il lui plairoit, et qu'a son retour ici on tacheroit d'achever ce qu'il avoit si bien commencé ; et qu'en y procedant pas a pas, et ne faisant rien qu'en sa presence, on l'engageroit encore plus.

Translation.

THE King of England and my lord Arlington have told me, that they had written to the Duke of Buckingham that he might return when he pleased; and that upon his return they would endeavour to finish what he had so well begun ; and that by proceeding step by step, and doing nothing but in his presence, they would lead him still further.

In the Depot.

Buckingham soon after came over to England ; and it appears from Colbert's dispatches that Buckingham, Lauderdale, Ashley Cooper, and the duke of York, were appointed commissioners by King Charles for conducting the treaty with Mons. Colbert. In order to deceive Buckingham still better, and to irritate his keenness by opposition, lord Arlington and Colbert pretended to throw obstructions in the way of the treaty. On the 29th September Colbert writes to Louis the XIVth, that Buckingham was pressing for the treaty, and complained of lord Arlington's backwardness ; and that King Charles had desired the article relating to money for his religion, might be sunk in the *traité simulé*, and the sum due to him on that account thrown into his subsidy for the Dutch war, in order to hide his intention to become Catholick from his protestant ministers.

On

On the 2d of October, 1670, Colbert writes Louis *In the Depot.* the XIVth, that Buckingham is grown keener and keener, the King having agreed to give him the command of 6000 English troops to be used against Holland; that the new commissioners are working at the new treaty, not knowing of the old one. The King having given the commissioners the line, the differences between it and the former treaty are trifling.

But the impatience of Buckingham is not half so well painted in Colbert's letters, as in the three following letters written in his own hand.

Copie de la lettre de Mr. de Bouquingham au Roi, avant la lettre de Mr. Colbert, du 13 Octobre, 1670.

IL est très important pour le bien de cette affaire, *In the Depot.* qu'elle soit conclu devant l'assemblée de notre parlement; c'est pourquoi je supplie très humblement votre Majesté de nous vouloir envoyer au plus vite ses dernières résolutions sur chaque article de ce traité, à fin que nous puissions travailler d'être en état de la servir au commencement du printems prochain. Vanbuning m'a offert depuis mon retour une somme assez considérable pour changer de parti; il n'y a pas trouvé son compte; mais j'apprehende qu'il le pourra trouver ailleurs, si la chose traîne en longueur; et pour cette raison je suis surjeusement en peine jusqu'à ce qu'elle soit finie. Pour l'amour de Dieu, Sire, croyés que jamais homme n'a été attaché à personne du monde avec tant de passion, de respect et de reconnoissance, comme je le serai toute ma vie à votre Majesté.

Letter from the duke of Buckingham to Louis the XIVth, bound up before the letter from Mr. Colbert of the 13 October, 1670.—Impatient for the secret treaty.

IT is very important to the good success of this affair, that it should be concluded before the meeting

of parliament ; for this reason I most humbly beg your Majesty will send us with the utmost dispatch your final resolutions upon every article of this treaty, to the end that we may endeavour to be in a capacity of serving you in the beginning of the spring. Vanbuning since my return has offered me a very considerable sum to change sides, though he did not find his account in it ; but I apprehend he may with others, if the affair is drawn into length ; and for this reason I am in a furious pain till it be finished. For the love of God, Sire, believe that no man in the world can be attached with greater passion, respect and acknowledgment, than I shall be to your Majesty all my life.

*Lettre du duc de Bouquingham au Roi, du 19 Novembre,
1670.*

Sire,

In the Defet.

JE serois au desespoir si votre Majesté pouvoit douter de mon zele et de ma fidélité : je lui dois tout par reconnoissance, mais je me sens encore plus fortement attaché à son service par les qualités, que j'ai trouvées dans sa personne qui la rendent aussi estimable et au dessus du commun, comme elle l'est par son caractère. Ce sont elles qui m'ont obligé pour jamais d'être plus à votre Majesté, que tout ce qu'il y a dans le monde, et qui me feront toujours sans reserve lui déclarer nettement mes pensées sur toutes choses, avec cette assurance, comme je me soumettrai toujours à son jugement, aussi qu'elle ne jugera par mal de moi pour l'emportement que j'aurai pour tout ce qui lui regarde. En fin, Sire, je ne me puis empêcher longtems de dire à votre Majesté que jamais chose ne m'a tant troublé l'esprit, que la conduite de ce traité depuis notre retour de Newmarket. Le Roi mon maitre y étoit tombé d'accord avec votre Majesté de tout ; il ne manquoit plus rien que de dresser les articles, que nous devons signer dans deux jours, et qui, je suis assuré, pouvoient être écrits en moins d'un. Mylord d'Arlington les devoit achever par concert avec Mr. l'ambassadeur, mais depuis

depuis ce tems là nous n'avons eû que des retardemens. Le premier acroc fût sur les Isles de Gorée et de Worne, que Mr. l'Ambassadeur a accordé depuis ; mais cela ne devoit point retarder la chose, car le Roi mon maitre se résolut de signer le traité, laissant une place vuide pour les dites isles, sur les assurances que je lui avois données de l'affection de votre Majesté, et que sans doute elle les y mettroit elle même, après les raisons qu'on lui pourroit donner là dessus. Dabord je le dis à Mr. l'Ambassadeur, croyant de mon côté avoir fait des merveilles ; mais le lendemain, au lieu de conclurre, nous eûmes une autre dispute sur le préambule, et l'article touchant le Prince d'Orange. Le Roi mon maitre d'abord consentit encore à tout ce qu'il demandoit ; mais cela ne nous profita de rien, car il trouva toujours de nouvelles difficultés, refusant de signer jusq' au retour de son courrier. Presentement nous sommes sur la dispute d'une de ces deux millions de livres qui devoient être payés sur le signement du traité. Durant ce delai, on avoit souvent prédit au Roi mon maitre qu'il auroit bientôt une marque infailible des intentions de votre Majesté, car si elle avoit changé de sentiment, elle hésiteroit sur le payement de ces deux millions. Cette prédiction tombant si vite avec ce qui ensuivit, acheve de me confirmer dans un soupçon, qui depuis quelque tems m'a donné beaucoup de peine ; et je ne doute plus nullement que les deux messieurs qui devoient préparer toutes choses pour la conclusion du traité n'ayent concerté de la rompre ; et que pendant que l'une met des scrupules dans la tête du Roi mon maitre, l'autre en fait autant auprès de votre Majesté. Si je me trompe, excusez une foiblesse qui est un défaut de mon naturel. Je ne puis être désintéressé pour les personnes que j'honore. Je considere cette affaire comme la seule qui peut aggrandir la renommée de votre Majesté. Si nous entrons ici dans des liaisons qui nous sont offertes tous les jours avec empressement, votre Majesté perdra la plus belle occasion du monde pour exercer les talens que Dieu lui

F 4

a donnés,

a donnés, et qui sont capables de lui faire égalier du moins tous ceux qui l'ont précédé dans les histoires.

Sire, je parle comme je pense. Si je fais mal, pardonnés le moi ; et que votre Majesté se resouviennne, s'il lui plait, que dès l'instant que je l'ai connu, j'eus le cœur si rempli d'admiration pour elle, qu'il me sera impossible à jamais d'avoir de l'attachement pour aucune autre chose, ou pour être en repos, devant que j'ai trouvé quelque occasion de lui rendre service, et de faire connoître à votre Majesté, à quel point je lui suis redevable pour toutes les obligations que j'ai recues d'elle en tant de diverses façons. Je suis du profond de mon cœur, Sire, de votre Majesté, &c.

(Signé)

BOUCKINGHAM.

Je supplie très humblement votre Majesté de me ménager un peu sur la franchise de cette lettre.

Translation.

Letter from the Duke of Buckingham to the French King, Nov. 19, 1670. — More and more impatient for the treaty. — A mean flattering letter.

SIRE,

I SHOULD be in despair if your Majesty could doubt my zeal and fidelity : I owe you every thing through gratitude, but I am still more attached to your service by your personal qualities, which render you as much more estimable and above the rest of mankind, as you are by your rank. It is these that for ever oblige me to be more devoted to your Majesty than to every thing else in the world, and will always make me declare my thoughts plainly to you without reserve, being certain that as I shall always submit myself to your judgment, you will not think ill of me for the ardour I shall always have for every thing that regards you : in short, Sire, I cannot hinder myself any longer from telling your
Majesty

Majesty that nothing ever troubled my mind so much, as the conduct of this treaty since our return from Newmarket. The King my master agreed there in every thing with your Majesty; there was nothing wanting but to draw the articles up which we ought to have signed in two days, and which, I am assured, might have been written in less than one. My Lord Arlington should have finished them in concert with the Ambassador, but since then we have had nothing but delays. The first stumbling-block was the islands of Goree and Worne, which the Ambassador has since agreed to; but that should not have retarded the affair, for the King my master was resolved to sign the treaty, leaving a blank place for the said islands, upon the assurances I gave him of your Majesty's affection, and that without doubt you would insert them yourself, after the reasons that might be given you for it. I immediately told the Ambassador of it, believing on my part that I had done wonders; but the next day, instead of concluding, we had another dispute about the preamble, and the article relating to the Prince of Orange. The King my master consented directly to every thing he asked; but this availed us nothing, for the Ambassador always found new difficulties, and refused to sign till the return of his messenger. At present we are disputing about one of the two millions of livres that is to be paid on signing the treaty. During this delay, it was often foretold to the King my master, that he would very soon have an infallible mark of your Majesty's intentions, for if you had changed your sentiments, you would hesitate upon the payment of these two millions. This prediction fulfilled so soon, together with what followed, served to confirm me in a suspicion, which for some time has given me a great deal of uneasiness; and I no longer doubt but the two persons who ought to have prepared every thing for the conclusion of the treaty have agreed to break it off; and that whilst one fills the King my master's head with scruples, the other does as much to your Majesty; if I am mistaken, excuse a weakness that is a fault of my nature.

nature. I cannot be indifferent in the cause of those whom I honour. I consider this affair as the only one that can aggrandize your Majesty's renown. If we enter here into the alliances which are every day offered us with eagerness, your Majesty will lose the finest occasion in the world to exert those talents God has given you, and which are capable of making you at least equal to all those who have preceded you in history.

Sire, I speak as I think. If I do wrong, pardon me. Your Majesty, if you please, may remember that from the moment I knew you, my heart was so filled with admiration, that it will be impossible for me ever to have an attachment to any other thing, or to be at rest till I find some occasion to render you service, and to show your Majesty to what a degree I am accountable to you for all the obligations that I have received in so many different ways. I am, from the bottom of my heart, Sire, your Majesty's, &c.

(Signed)

BUCKINGHAM.

I most humbly beg your Majesty to spare me a little for the freedom of this letter.

Lettre de Mr. Bouquingham, du 19 Novembre, 1670, au Ministre.

Monsieur,

In the Depot.

DEPUIS la lettre que vous me fîtes l'honneur de m'envoyer, j'ai été fort malade, qui est la raison pourquoi je ne vous ai point écrit plutôt; presentement je me trouve obligé de vous envoyer ce courrier, notre affaire étant sur le point d'être rompue par les lenteurs de Mr. l'Ambassadeur. Je ne croirai jamais que vous ayés changé de sentiment de l'autre côté de la mer; c'est pourquoi je mets la faute toute entiere sur votre homme ici, et sur un des nôtres, de qui les alliances domestiques ne semblent pas convenir tout à fait avec celle que nous avons tâché d'accomplir pour le public. Il y a un mois que nous étions d'accord en tout, et qu'il

ne

ne falloit qu' écrire une feuille de papier, que Mr. d'Arlington et Mr. l'Ambassadeur devoient ajuster ensemble ; cependant nous voici plus éloignés de venir à une conclusion que jamais. Quelque raisons que vous ayés de différer la déclaration de la guerre, quelles pûvés vous avoir pour ne point signer promptement le traité ? Chaque jour ici fait naître mille obstacles ; le parlement est sur le point de faire des déclarations qui gâtéroient tout ce que nous pourrions faire après ; et cependant, étant incertains de ce que vous êtes résolu de faire, nous n'osons prendre les seuls moyens capables de nous en garantir. Pour l'amour de Dieu, si vous êtes encore intentionné de faire quelque chose avec nous, conclusés le promptement, et sâchés que je ne puis rendre un service plus considérable au Roi de France, qu'en l'en avertissant de bonne heure. En fin, il y a de certaines gens ici fort changées depuis peu. Je ne sais d'où cela vient, mais je soupçonne fort que les offres d'argent n'ont pas été par tout si mal reçues, comme chez,

Monfieur, votre &c.

(Signe) BOUQUINGHAM.

Je ne ferois bien aise que tout le monde vit cette lettre.

Translation.

*Letter from the duke of Buckingham to Monsf. de Lyonne,
19th November, 1670. — To the same purpose. — Insinuations against Lord Arlington.*

Sir,

SINCE the letter you did me the honour to send me, I have been very ill, which is the reason I have not written to you sooner ; at present I find myself obliged to send this messenger, our affair being on the point to be broken off through the slowness of the ambassador. I will never believe that you have changed sentiments on the other side of the water ; for which reason I throw the fault entirely upon your man here,
and,

and one of ours, whose domestic alliances do not seem quite to agree with those we have endeavoured to accomplish for the public. It is now a month since every thing was agreed upon, and nothing wanted but a sheet of paper to be written, which my lord Arlington and the ambassador should have adjusted together; yet we are now farther coming to a conclusion than ever. Whatever reasons you may have to defer the declaration of war, what can you have for not immediately signing the treaty? Every day here creates a thousand obstacles; the parliament is on the point of making some declarations that will spoil all we may hereafter do, and in the mean time, being uncertain of what you are resolved upon, we dare not take the only means capable to prevent them. For the love of God, if you have still the intention to do any thing with us, conclude it speedily, and know that I cannot render a more considerable service to the King of France, than in putting him on his guard in good time. In short, there are certain people here very much altered within this little while. I don't know from whence it comes, but I suspect very much that the offers of money have not been every where so badly received as by,

Sir, yours, &c.

(Signed) BUCKINGHAM.

I should not wish that every one saw this letter,

From Colbert's dispatches it appears, that the articles of the new treaty, or what is called in those dispatches the *traité simulé*, was signed by King Charles on the 2d of February 1761, and by the new commissioners on the 3d of June thereafter. I did not find a formal copy of the treaty in the volumes, but the letters show the articles agreed upon were the same with those of the former treaty in all things, except that the money

money given for the King's popery was thrown into the first year's subsidy for the Dutch war, and Charles was to get a million of livres in hand ; and that in the division of Holland, England was to have an addition of the islands of Worne and Goree. From all the dispatches I saw, there is not the least reason to believe that the protestant commissioners knew any thing of the former treaty made by the popish ones.

When the new treaty was near finished, the French court insisted to have a secret article, declaring that nothing in it should derogate from the article of the former treaty relative to the King's popery. The dispatches show that Charles struggled hard to avoid it, but at last consented. The secret article offered by Charles, and afterwards accepted by France, with Monsieur Colbert's letter relative to it, run as follows.

Projet de l'acte offert par le Roi d' Angleterre, Charles, &c. avant la lettre de Mr. Colbert au Roi, du 3 Novembre, 1670.

COMME par le traité signé à Douvres le
et ratifié il est accordé que
nous recevrons deux millions de livres tournoises, pour
nous assister à nous declarer Catholique, et trois millions
chacune année pour la dépense d'une guerre contre les
Hollandois ; et que nous avons un traité signé aujourd'hui stipulé, que le Roi très Chrétien nous donnera
cinq millions de livres pour la dépense de la premiere
année d'une guerre contre la Hollande ; nous déclarons par ces présentes, que dans les cinq millions dont
il est fait mention dans ce dernier traité pour la guerre
d'Hollande, sont compris aussi les deux millions dont il
est fait mention dans le premier traité de Catholicité ;
et nous déclarons en outre, et promettons, qu' ayant
reçu

In the Depot.

reçu les dits deux premiers millions, nous en baillerons quittance comme pour Catholicité ; et de plus, que c'est notre intention et dessein qu'il n'y ait rien dans ce traité qui puisse changer le dit traité de Douvres dans les articles et clauses y contenus, mais plutôt les confirmer et corroborer. En foi de quoi, &c.

Translation.

Draught of the instrument offered by the King of England, Charles, &c. bound up before Mr. Colbert's letter to the King, of the 3 November, 1670.—Second treaty not to derogate from first as to King's popery.

AS by the treaty signed at Dover the and ratified it is agreed, that we shall receive two millions of livres tournois, to assist us in declaring ourself a Catholic, and three millions each year for the expence of a war against Holland ; and as we have stipulated by a treaty signed this day, that the most Christian King shall give us five millions of livres for the first year's expences of a war against Holland ; we declare by these presents, that in the five millions mentioned in this last treaty for the Dutch war, are comprehended also the two millions which are mentioned in the first treaty for our declaring ourself Catholic ; and we declare besides, and promise, that having received the said two first millions, we will give an acquittance as relative to the article of our being Catholic ; and further, that it is our intention there be nothing in this treaty that may change the articles and clauses contained in the said treaty of Dover, but rather confirm and corroborate them. In faith of which, &c.

*Part of a Letter from Monsr. Colbert to Louis the XIVth,
2 July, 1671.*

CEPENDANT j' ai crû lui (that is Louis the XIVth) devoir depecher ce courier par lui porter la

la ratification du roy d'Angleterre du traité, et des articles secrets, avec sa declaration que j' ai mis dans un paquet secret, portant confirmation du traité du Douvres.

Translation.

Secret Article of the second Treaty confirming the first Treaty.

NEVERTHELESS I thought myself obliged to dispatch this courier to deliver to your Majesty the King of England's ratification of the treaty, and of the secret articles, with his declaration, (which I have put in a secret paquet,) bearing a confirmation of the treaty of Dover.

While the secret treaty was going on, the young Prince of Orange had come upon a visit to see his uncles in England.

Colbert, in a letter to Louis the XIVth, of date 23d In the Depot. October, 1670, says, that Charles had proposed to him to detain the Prince of Orange in England, and to tempt him with the sovereignty of Holland; but that he, Colbert, had demurred to the proposal.

A letter from Colbert to Louis of 13 Nov. 1670, In the Depot. shews that the French court approved of his conduct in not consenting to King Charles's proposal about the Prince of Orange.

Those who reflect that they owe their present liberty and religion to King William, will read with pleasure the following character which King Charles gave Colbert of him at this visit.

Part

Part of Colbert's letter to Louis the XIVth, 4 Dec. 1670
—Charles's character of the young Prince of Orange.

LE Roy d'Angleterre est fort satisfait de l'esprit du Prince d'Orange. Mais il le trouve si passionné Hollandois et Protestant, que quand même votre Majesté ne deslapprouveroit qu'il lui confioit quelque parti du secret, ces deux raisons l'empêcheroient.

Translation.

THE king of England is much satisfied with the parts of the Prince of Orange. But he finds him so passionate a Dutchman and Protestant, that even although your Majesty had not disapproved of trusting him with any part of the secret, those two reasons would have hindered him:

The treaty being finished, there appear in the dispatches the first strokes of that arbitrary disposition, and contempt of parliaments, in the Duke of York, which afterwards drew ruin upon him. For after the treaty, a dispute having arisen in King Charles's councils, whether to assemble parliament in order to get money, in which Buckingham was much against it, Monsieur Colbert represents the Duke of York's sentiments in the following words.

Part of Monsf. Colbert's letter to Louis the XIV, July 14, 1671 —The Duke of York's aversion to Parliaments.—His arbitrary views.

In the Depot.

J' ai trouvé aussi Mr. de York dans les mêmes sentimens que le Duc de Buckingham touchant l'assemblée du parlement, m'ayant dit de lui même, et sans que j'aye fait tomber l'entretien sur ce sujet, que si son avis étoit suivi, on se garderoit bien de l'assembler ;

bler ; et ajoutant en confiance, que les affaires sont à present icy dans une état a faire croire qu'un Roy et un parlement ne peuvent plus subsister ensemble : Qu'il ne falloit plus songer qu' à faire seulement la guerre aux Hollandois, comme des seuls moyens qu'on en a sans le recours du parlement, au quel on ne devoit plus avoir recours qu' après un heureux succès de la guerre et de la Catholicité, et lorsqu'on seroit en état d'obtenir par la force, ce qu'on ne pourroit avoir par la douceur.

Translation.

I FOUND the Duke of York in the same sentiments with the Duke of Buckingham with regard to the meeting of the parliament, having told me of himself, without my entering upon the subject, that if his advice was followed, they would be very cautious of assembling it ; adding, in confidence, that affairs are at present here in such a situation as to make him believe that a King and a parliament can exist no longer together : That nothing should be any longer thought of than to make war upon Holland, as the only means left without having recourse to parliament, to which they ought no longer to have recourse till the war and the Catholic faith had come to an happy issue, and when they should be in a condition to obtain by force, what they could not obtain by mildness."

In this correspondence, the first strokes of Lord Sunderland's character are also to be seen. From Colbert's letter to Monsieur de Lyonne of 24 Dec. 1641, it appears, that Lord Sunderland was sent ambassador to Spain to persuade the Spanish court to join in the war against Holland. From a previous letter from Colbert to Louis of 30 Nov. that year, it appears, that he had instructions to take France in his way. This last letter contains these words.

*Part of a letter to Monsr. Colbert to Louis the XIVth, 30
Nov. 1671.—Character of Lord Sunderland.*

In the Depot.

CES Messieurs m'ont assurés que le Comte de Sunderland partira sans faute demain pour se rendre auprès de votre Majesté. C'est un jeun gentilhomme de très grand naissance, qui a beaucoup d'honneteté, de courage, d'esprit et de lecture, qui est aussi très bien intentionné, et qui a d'ailleurs une grande disposition de se faire Catholique.

Translation.

THEY assured me that the Earl of Sunderland should without fail depart to morrow to wait upon your Majesty. He is a young gentleman of high family, has a great deal of frankness, courage, parts and learning, is also extremely well intentioned, and has besides a great disposition to make himself a Roman Catholic.

Both of the above treaties were helped on by money from France given to the King's ministers, and for the most part with his knowledge.

In the Depot.

On the 25th August, 1670, Colbert writes to Louis the XIVth, that he had offered a pension of 10,000 crowns to Lord Arlington, whose answer was, that he could neither take or refuse it now, but that in case of necessity he would ask the protection of Louis.

In the Depot.

On the 28th August, 1670, Colbert writes Monsr. de Lyonne, that Lord Arlington had proposed the French court should give a pension to Lady Shrewsbury, in order to fix Buckingham the better.

In the Depot.

On the 2d October, 1670, Colbert writes, that Buckingham had told him the Spaniards had offered him

him 200,000*l.* to bring King Charles to their side. Colbert adds: “ Je crois qu’il n’en est rien ; mais je crains que l’appetit des ces nouveaux commissaires ne soit grand.—I do not believe any thing of it ; but I am afraid that the appetite of these new commissioners is great.”

On the 16th October and 3d November, 1670, Colbert writes, that he had given the presents to the commissioners of the first treaty, and that King Charles had ordered them to take them. It does not appear what the extent of the presents was. *In the Depot.*

On the 1st Jan. 1671, Colbert writes, that he had given Lady Shrewsbury 10,000 *livres*. *In the Depot.*

On the 2d April, 1671, Colbert writes, that he had given a present to Lauderdale, that he is soon to do the same to Buckingham and Ashley Cooper, and that King Charles knew it. It does not appear what the extent of the presents was. *In the Depot.*

On the 9th November, 1671, Colbert writes, that Lady Shrewsbury on receiving her French pension said, she would make Buckingham comply with King Charles in all things. *In the Depot.*

On the 3d December, 1671, Colbert writes, that Lady Arlington had in her husband’s presence offered to accept of the present intended for her husband. He adds, “ Le mari n’a fait qu’un reproché très obligeant.”—“ The husband reproached her, but very obligingly.” *In the Depot.*

On the 11th April, 1672, Colbert writes to Louis in these words: “ Milord Arlington m’a fait une visite
“ exprès pour me faire connoître combien il est pene-
“ tré des marques d’estime et distinction que votre Ma-
“ jesté a donné par le magnifique present que votre
“ Majesté

“ Majesté a fait a Madame Arlington.” “ My Lord
 “ Arlington made me a visit on purpose to let me know
 “ how much he is penetrated with the marks of esteem
 “ and distinction which your Majesty has given by the
 “ magnificent present which your Majesty has made to
 “ Lady Arlington.” And then proceeds to repeat the
 strong professions of Lord Arlington to France.

It is probable, that Charles in his stipulations in the above two treaties about declaring himself a Roman Catholic, meant only to draw money from France at first and from Spain afterwards, or at least to be very sure of his power at home before he took such a step: The shifts he fell upon to turn this part of the treaty to his advantage, and to avoid performing it, make a true comedy in Colbert's dispatches.

In the Depot.

After he had signed the first treaty, several months pass over upon a difficulty on his part in finding a proper person to send to Rome to manage his reconciliation with the Holy See. At length on the 29th September, 1670, Colbert writes Monsr. de Lyonne, that according to orders from France he had proposed to Charles that the affair should be conducted by the Bishop of Laon, a man of great virtue and character, and that Charles had agreed.

In the Depot.

On the 23d October, 1670, Colbert writes Monsr. de Lyonne, that Charles had changed his mind, and did not like “ à confier son secret à un Pape moribond ;—
 “ to trust his secret to a Pope who was near his end ;” and besides, that it would be proper he should send an Englishman with the Bishop of Laon.

In the Depot.

On the 6th November, 1670, Colbert writes, that King Charles could not yet find a proper Englishman to go to Rome with the Bishop of Laon.

On

On the 13th of November, 1670, Colbert writes, *In the Depot.* that he had proposed to Lord Arlington that the Bishop of Laon should set off by himself, and Lord Arlington said he would speak to the King of it.

On the 17th November, 1670, Colbert writes, that *In the Depot.* Charles had at last found a proper Englishman, but who was not in England, being head of the college at Doway, and that he would send him by himself without the bishop of Laon; that Charles had promised to declare his popery soon, but would not fix his time, and that in the mean time he had made a demand for money from France.

On the 1st and 19th of January, 1671, Colbert writes, *In the Depot.* that there were delays about the English clergyman and the form of his instructions, and that Charles was to trust the whole affair to one of his own subjects.

On the 18th February, 1671, Colbert writes, that *In the Depot.* still more delays were made on account of the want of proper instructions to the King's English clergyman.

On the 25th February, 1671, Colbert writes, that *In the Depot.* the instructions to the clergyman having at length been finished, and lord Arlington carried them to the King, he gave for answer, that he could neither declare his popery, nor send any one to Rome at this time.

On the 21st March, 1672, Colbert writes, that *In the Depot.* Charles desired a theologian to be sent him from Paris, to instruct him in the mysteries of the Catholic religion, but that he desired this theologian might be a good chymist.

On the 7th June, 1672, Colbert writes, that Charles *In the Depot.* had put off his conversion till the end of the campaign; and that in the mean time he desired a treaty with the see of Rome, in which the Pope should yield 'le

‘ communion dans les deux especes,’ and that mass should be said in the vulgar tongue.

Chymistry being the study which, of all others, the King was fondest of, and a demand of impossible concessions from Rome betraying itself, these two last demands probably opened the eyes of the French, and they troubled him no more on the head of religion.

From several of Colbert’s dispatches it appears, that Charles, unknown to France, communicated to the Queen of Spain his intention to declare himself a Roman Catholic ; and when Louis complained of it, Charles said he had done it to engage the Queen to take a side against the Dutch.

The dispatches show that he received great sums from France during the Dutch war, and that he made no complaints of breach of treaty on that head ; but the extent of them does not appear.

While King Charles was projecting or forming these secret treaties with France, he withdrew all his confidence from his old tory ministers, pretended to make a favourite of Buckingham, and put the direction of Ireland into the hands of lord Roberts ; of Scotland into those of lord Lauderdale ; and of England into those of lord Ashley Cooper ; all of whom had drawn their swords against his father. These things he probably did to engage their services in the success of his connexion with France, or to expose men he disliked if it should prove unsuccessful. The contempt he had for the profligacy of Buckingham is notorious. His dislike of Shaftesbury made him blind even to his talents, for Colbert, in a letter of July 1673, says, Charles told him that ‘ le chancelier etoit le plus foible, et le plus mechant de tous les hommes,—the weakest and wickedest of all men.’ In one of Monf.

Barillon’s

Barillon's letters at an after period, to wit, in 1681, Barillon writes, that when Shaftesbury, at the end of the Dutch war, was advising Charles to quit the French and make a Spanish alliance, Charles asked him how much the Spaniards had given him? He answered, Nothing at all; then, said the King, you owe them nothing, for they offered Arlington 40,000 l.

The following letter from Charles to his sister, in the *Depot*, shews that his removal of the duke of Ormond from the command of Ireland, did not arise from displeasure.

Part of a letter from Charles the II^d to the Dutcheß of Orleans, 7th March, 1669.—His removal of the Duke of Ormond arises not from displeasure.

I See you are misinformed if you think I trust my lord of Ormond less than I did; there are other considerations which make me send my lord Robarts to Ireland which are too long for a letter. I have dispatched this night n. z. m. p. s. c. b. s. w. a. e. f m. to 103, who is fully instructed as you can wish: You will see by him the reason why I desired to write to nobody here of the business of 271, but to myself.

After Charles had drawn his new ministers into his second treaty with France, he assumed a much higher tone over them than he had before done.

He duped Buckingham of his expectations of commanding 6000 English forces against Holland, by prevailing with France not to ask them. Colbert writes on the 4th of November, 1671, that on this account Buckingham had refused to go to court when sent for. Ashley Cooper and Lauderdale had shewn some discontents about the same time. Colbert gives the following

account of the King's personal behaviour to these three ministers upon this occasion.

Extrait de la lettre de Mr. Colbert au Roi, du 9 Novembre, 1671.

In the Depot.

LE duc de Bouquingham a enfin été voir le Roi son maitre, qui lui a donné une assez longue audience, et on a dit incontinent après le détail au duc de Yorck, à milord Arlington, et au trésorier Clifort, desquels je l'ai appris. Sa Majesté Britannique ayant ordonné au dit duc de lui dire tous les sujets de son chagrin, lui témoignant même obligeamment qu'il lui vouloit assez de bien pour l'en guerir ; ce duc s'est plaint ouvertement de Mr. de Montaigu, et indirectement de milord Arlington, de tous les mauvais offices qu'on lui rendoit sous main, se laissant entendre qu'ils n'ont conçu de l'aversion pour lui, qu'à cause qu'il a été le premier promoteur d'une bonne union entre votre Majesté et l'Angleterre ; et il a voulu soutenir que la grâce que cet ambassadeur a demandée à votre Majesté de la part du dit Roi, de le dispenser de la levée et entretenement d'un corps de troupes Angloises, est contre son honneur, et contre le bien de son service ; mais le dit Roi lui a dit, après l'avoir écouté paisiblement, qu'il voyoit bien qu'il ne se souvenoit plus des millions qu'il lui avoit fait perdre dans la dernière séance du parlement, et que cependant si l'affection qu'il avoit pour lui duc avoit effacé cette offense, il ne laissoit pas d'en bien retentir les effets, qui l'auroient peut-être réduit dans la facheuse impossibilité de satisfaire à son obligation, si votre Majesté ne lui eût fait le plaisir de l'en décharger. Que quand Mr. de Montaigu n'auroit agi que par un motif de haine contre lui duc, il ne laisseroit pas d'approuver sa conduite par les bons effets qu'elle produit : que c'étoit une folie de s'imaginer qu'il pût mettre en balance l'interêt qu'a le dit duc de commander un corps de troupes avec celui du public, qui reçoit un notable soulagement de la complaisance

plaisance de votre Majesté. Il ajouta, avec colere, qu'en de semblables occasions il ne le consideroit non-plus que son chien : et que si même votre Majesté l'eût déchargé de l'armement des vaisseaux au lieu de la levée et entretenement des troupes, il n'auroit pas eû plus d'égard à l'envie qu' a Mr. le duc de York de commander la flotte ; qu' au reste il vouloit que tous ceux qui ont signé le traité véussent en bonne intelligence, et concourussent unanimement à en faciliter l'exécution ; et que s'il arrivoit quelque division entr' eux qui pût nuire à cette affaire, il sauroit bien connoître qui en seroit coupable, et l'éloigner entierement de sa confiance pour y en admettre d'autres qui la mériteroient mieux. On m'a dit qu'il a parlé dans le même sens à milord Lauderdale, et à milord Ashley, qui me paroissent effectivement un peu mortifiés. Et je crois que cette reprimande ne nuira pas au service de votre Majesté, d'autant plus que milord Arlington, qui a le plus de part dans l'estime et l'affection du Roi son maitre, me montre plus de chaleur et plus d'empressement que jamais à avancer la satisfaction de votre Majesté conjointement avec celle du Roi d'Angleterre.

Translation.

Extract of a Letter from Mr. Colbert to the King, 9 Nov. 1671. — Charles's free treatment of Buckingham, Ashley, and Lauderdale.

THE Duke of Buckingham has at last been to see the King his master, who gave him a pretty long audience, and immediately after, the detail was told to the Duke of York, to my lord Arlington, and the Treasurer Clifford, from whom I learnt it. His Britannic Majesty having ordered the Duke to tell him the subjects of his chagrin, saying, obligingly, that he wished him so well as to cure him of it, the Duke openly complained of Mr. Mountagu, and indirectly of my lord Arlington, for all the bad offices they had done.

done him under hand, insinuating, that they had conceived an aversion to him only because he had been the first promoter of a good union between your Majesty and England; and he maintained, that the favour which that ambassador had asked of your Majesty on the part of the said King, to dispense with his levying and keeping on foot a body of English troops, was against his honour and the good of his service; but the King told him, after having heard him peaceably, that he saw well he had forgot the millions he had been the cause of his losing the last session of parliament, and that tho' the affection he had for him, the Duke, had blotted out this offence, he could not help sensibly feeling the effects of it, which perhaps might have reduced him to the disagreeable impossibility of discharging his obligation, if your majesty had not been pleased to release him from it. That even supposing Mr. Mountagu had acted from no other motive than hatred to him (the Duke) he could not avoid approving his conduct from the good effects it had produced. That it was folly to imagine he could put in competition the interest the Duke had in commanding a body of troops, with that of the publick, which received so great an ease from your Majesty's complaisance. He added, with anger, that on such occasions he considered him no more than his dog; and that even if your Majesty had released him of the naval armament in place of the levying and keeping the troops on foot, he would have no more regard to the Duke of York's desire of commanding the fleet: that as for the rest, he wished that all those who had signed the treaty would live in good harmony, and unanimously concur in facilitating the execution of it; and that if any division amongst them should happen which might hurt this affair, he should know very well who were guilty, and entirely banish them from his confidence, and admit others who deserved it better. They told me that he spoke in the same stile to my lord Lauderdale and to my lord Ashley, who appear to me in effect a little mortified,

mortified, and I believe this reprimand will not hurt your Majesty's service, the more so as my lord Arlington, who has the largest share in the esteem and affection of his master, shews more warmth and forwardness than ever in advancing your Majesty's satisfaction jointly with that of the King of England."

This bold language had its effect with Buckingham In the Depot. at least. Colbert writes on the 15th February, 1672, that a Latin copy of the second treaty was that day signed; that Buckingham upon that occasion said, that another would get the honour of his work, that he had missed the object of his ambition which was the command of the troops; adding, "sic vos non vobis vellera fertis oves;" and then reluctantly put his name to the paper.

A Prince whose politicks are crooked makes those of his ministers crooked too. The cabal became sensible of the danger they were exposed to by these treaties with France, and therefore attempted to lessen that danger by sharing it with the King's former friends.

Colbert writes on the 3d June, 1671, that the cabal In the Depot. had proposed to make an attempt to bring Prince Rupert and the Duke of Ormond to consent to a treaty with France against Holland; that the treaty just concluded should be concealed from them, and a new one on the very same terms framed in conjunction with them; but that he, Colbert, had refused to give his consent to the project.

It is very probable that the dangers which the cabal were thus brought into, engaged them for their own safeties in the bold courses which they took in the beginning of the second Dutch war.

Colbert,

In the *Depot*.

Colbert, on the 11th April, 1672, writes thus of the cabal : “ Ils voyent bien que tout leur salut consiste dans l'affirmissement de l'autorité du Roy leur maitre.”——“ They see that all their safety lies in strengthening the authority of the King their master.”

Lord Keeper Guildford, in the manuscript which Doctor North was so good as to show me, writes thus.

*Extract from Lord Keeper Guildford's manuscript. —
Bold courses of Clifford and Shaftesbury.*

In Doctor
North's posses-
sion.

“ **T**HE lord Clifford and the earl of Shaftesbury were each of them upon very bold projects, and did not regard a good report : They thought, by the help of the parties they comprehended and took into favour, to be too strong for all opposers.”

When the house of commons pressed Charles to recall his declaration of indulgence, Arlington alone hesitated, the rest of the cabal stood firm. Colbert writes thus to Louis the XIVth, on the 9th March, 1673.—“ Le chancelier d'Angleterre, le tresorier, et les ducs de Bouquingham et Lauderdale, sont d'avis de maintenir cette déclaration du Roi leur maitre, en faveur des Nonconformists ; et que si le parlement persiste dans ses remonstrances, comme il n'en faut douter, de le casser, et en convoquer un autre : ils ne manquent pas memes de bonnes raisons pour apuyer leur opinion. Milord Arlington, qui est jusques à present tout seul de la sienne, dit, que le Roi son maitre ne devoit pas, &c.”

Translation.

“ The chancellor, the treasurer, the dukes of Buckingham and Lauderdale, are of opinion to maintain this declaration

declaration of the King their master, in favour of the Nonconformists; and that if the parliament persist in their remonstrances, as it is not doubted they will, to dissolve it and call another: they do not even want good reasons to support their opinion. My lord Arlington, who at present is single in his sentiments, says, that the King his master ought not to do it."

A prince who betrays, and consents to the corruption of his own ministers, must expect to be betrayed by them. The cabal, and all their schemes, burst like a bubble at the first sight of the terrors of an English parliament hung out to them.

Lord Keeper Guildford, in the same manuscript, writes thus.

Extract from Lord Keeper Guildford's manuscript.—
Shaftesbury's sudden change of conduct.

"**S**HAFTESBURY issued writs for election, without the speaker's leave, to bring in a few of his own creatures to be burgesses in the west country.

In Doctor North's possession.

"When Shaftesbury found he was to be questioned first, and for what he had said and done, he fell to his old courses, by which he used to save himself in former changes; and dealt underhand with the party that opposed the court; and recanted publicly and suddenly, by disapproving the declaration, and thereby saved himself with them, who thought it would be of more service to have the King's councils betrayed, than to make the earl of Shaftesbury an example."

Colbert writes, 20th November, 1763, that Arlington had turned entirely to the Dutch party; that he contrived the Test act, knowing that Clifford would not take it; and that to make his peace he disclosed

In the Depot.

disclosed the secret of the first secret treaty to Ormond and Shaftesbury.

If this last fact be true, it is a strong instance of the honour of English party : for lord Ormond carried with him to the grave his loyalty and his secret ; and Shaftesbury, though little troubled with scruples, never made use of it against lord Arundel, even whilst he persecuted him.

This was not all : Charles, by those crooked politicks, lost all the fruits of the popularity of the earlier part of his reign. The effects of that popularity might have been great to the power of the crown, when even the friends of the crown suspected the weight of it. Lord Keeper Guildford, in the same manuscript, speaking of the earlier period of Charles's reign, writes thus. —

Extract from Lord Keeper Guildford's manuscript. — Old gentry jealous of the weight of the King's popularity in the beginning of the reign.

In Doctor
North's hands,

“ **T**HE gentry were so secure in their own opinion, that they were considering rather that the parliament would invest too much power in the King, than that there was any danger of the old rebels, and therefore many of them began to draw the other way, desiring the crown should depend on the good will of the people, and thought themselves politick in keeping the balance as even as they could. One would think they that had felt the miseries of anarchy should never have feared a King.”

The publication of the duke's popery, about the same time, lost the King even the dissenters, whom he meant to have gained by his declaration of indulgence.

gence. Lord Guildford, in Doctor North's manuscript, writes thus.

Extract from Lord Guildford's manuscript.—Charles loses the Dissenters.

“**I**T is certain that from this time the credit of the government was quite broke, and that party who had persuaded to the indulgence, and taken licences to a vast number, (which they did to make the King believe their numbers were very formidable) cried out against it, as not intended out of kindness to them, but only to the papists; that they desired indulgence, but not at the price of all the laws; they had much rather have it in a parliamentary way; and in the next parliament they joined with many of the country gentlemen, that were no friends to them, to oppose the declaration, so as they might have an act of comprehension; wherein the others promised all their endeavours.”

Upon the promotion of lord Danby on the ruins of the cabal, and the project of that minister to buy off the resentment of the house of commons, by giving money to the members, only added on account of its novelty to the popularity of government. On this head lord Guildford, in his manuscript, speaks thus.

“ I observed this good humour began to decay upon the taking off enemies by preferring them; and those friends that were low in the world, or had mercenary natures, had money given them: so that ambitious men expected to be sought to and caressed, because they were able to trouble the King's affairs; and the honest, plain (but not discerning) country gentleman believed every vote that was given for the court was the effect of a pension, and would not join, lest he should be thought to do it, because he had some hopes of a reward.”

It has commonly been believed that the French played false to England, in carrying the Dutch war upon the side of Maestricht, instead of making war near the sea coasts, in order to have enabled England to subdue Zealand. But the following extract from lord Guildford's manuscript shews this to be a mistake.

Extract from Lord Guildford's manuscript.—The French acted fair to England in the 2d Dutch war.

“**I** HAD then the curiosity thereupon to be satisfied, concerning foul play supposed to be done by the French in making war about Maestricht, when it was supposed, if they had advanced towards the sea coasts, Zealand would have yielded to have been subject to the King of England rather than to the French. I was told, (by the Duke of York) that France did concert the siege of Maestricht with the King, and it was alledged, that to think of a surrender was vain, unless the King could shew some force, which, if he could, the French making the seat of the war so far off, would divert the force of the States from the defence of the coasts: and this reason prevailed.”

Charles's declaration of indulgence has been commonly imputed to the intrigues of France with Charles, for the purpose of serving the interest of popery. But Colbert's dispatches shew that France had not the least hand in it, that it was a scheme of Buckingham and Shaftesbury to gain the Dissenters, and that France was the cause of Charles's recalling it.

In the Depot.

Colbert writes to Louis the XIVth on the 9th March, 1673, that Madame de la Querouaille had told him, that the remonstrances of parliament about the declaration of indulgence had given Charles to despair, and that he was to dissolve the parliament, and make a peace with Holland, finding he could do no better.

Upon

Upon this intelligence, Louis the XIVth, whose only object in his connection with Charles seems to have been the success of the Dutch war, wrote to Charles, and ordered Colbert to intreat him, to drop his declaration of indulgence.

On the 20th March, 1673, Colbert writes the following congratulatory letter to Louis the XIVth on Charles's having given up his declaration of indulgence, in consequence of the interposition of France.

Extrait de la lettre de Monsr. Colbert au Roi, du 20 Mars, 1673.

Sire,

JAMAIS conseil n'a été mieux reçu, plus ponctuellement suivi, et n'a produit aussi de meilleurs et de plus prompts effets, que celui que votre Majesté a fait donner par moi au Roi d'Angleterre. Ce Prince, qui étoit presque résolu le Jeudi au soir de casser son parlement, à peine eût entendu le Vendredi au matin les raisons que je lui representai de votre part, pour l'obliger à s'accommoder à la nécessité de satisfaire ses peuples sur le fait de sa déclaration, et d'ôter aux mal intentionnées le prétexte trop plausible de religion, qu'il m'assura que les sentimens de votre Majesté auroient toujours plus de pouvoir sur lui que tous les raisonnemens de ses plus fideles ministres; qu'il étoit si sensiblement touché de marques d'amitié sincere que vous lui donnés en cette occasion, et des offres que je lui avois faites de la part de votre Majesté, d'entendre ses secours après la paix faite, au delà de ce qu'elle est obligée par le traité, que pour lui mieux témoigner combien il en est reconnoissant, il alloit sans délibérer d'avantage accorder à ses sujets ce qu'ils lui demandoient avec tant d'empressement. Et en effet le lendemain au matin il entra revêtu de ses habits royaux dans la chambre haut, y fit venir celle des communes, et parla dans les termes que votre Majesté pourra voir par la copie de son discours, qui fût suivi des cris de

H

joie

joie et des applaudissemens universels de tout le parlement ; et aussitôt que la chambre haute fût retirée, elle travailla incessamment à l'acte du secours d'argent qu'elle a promis, en sorte qu'on espere que cette affaire sera finie demain, ou au plus, à l'entiere satisfaction du Roi. Tout le peuple, qui étoit déjà fort allarmé de la crainte d'une guerre civile, a fait dans toutes les rues des feux de joie de cette bonne réconciliation du Roi avec son parlement. L'aigreur même que la chambre de communes témoignoit contre les Catholiques, s'est un peu adoucie par le consentement général que ce Prince leur a donné pour tous les actes qu'ils jugeroient à propos de faire pour assûrer la religion protestante ; et comme il n'a pas fait un secret des conseils de douceur et de modération que votre Majesté lui a donnés, quelques uns des membres du parlement m'ont dit, que tout ce corps se sentoît obligé à votre Majesté de cet accommodement ; en sorte que les affaires sont à présent ici au meilleur état qu'elle le peut desirer pour le bien des siennes ; et le dit Roi m'a assûré qu'il auroit cette année une flotte aussi puissante que l'année dernière.

Je n'ai pas crû qu'il fût du service de votre Majesté de garder les mesures qu'elle m'a prescrites, dans les offres de troupes dont elle veut bien assister le dit Roi pour l'exécution de ses desseins après la paix faite ; car comme il est persuadé aussi bien que ses ministres, que rien n'est si capable de révolter tout la nation, que de faire voir qu'il peut appuyer son autorité par des forces étrangères, il m'a souvent fait entendre, et le milord Arlington aussi, qu'il ne se serviroit du secours que votre Majesté s'est obligé de lui fournir, que dans une extreme nécessité : ainsi j'ai crû qu'il valoit mieux l'assûrer seulement en général que votre Majesté ne s'arrêteroit pas aux termes du dit traité, et que suivant les mouvemens de son affection, après que la guerre seroit finie, elle seroit passer non seulement les six milles hommes qu'elle avoit promis, mais autant qu'il témoigneroit en avoir besoin, et j'ai tout sujet de croire qu'on

qu'on ne fera pas de demande sur ce point à votre Majesté, qui lui soit trop à charge.

Translation.

Extract of a letter from Monsr. Colbert to Louis the XIVth, 20 March, 1673. — France has prevailed with Charles to recal his declaration of indulgence. — And assures him of troops against his subjects.

Sire,

NEVER could any counsel be better received, more punctually followed, nor produce better and more immediate effects, than that which your Majesty has given to the King of England. This Prince, who was almost resolved on Thursday in the evening to dissolve the parliament, had hardly heard on Friday morning the reasons which I represented to him on your part, to prevail with him to submit himself to the necessity of satisfying his people upon the affair of the declaration, and to remove from the bad intentioned the too plausible pretence of religion, than he assured me that your Majesty's sentiments had always more power over him than all the reasoning of his most faithful ministers: That he was so sensibly touched with the marks of sincere friendship you had on this occasion given him, and the offers which I made him on your Majesty's part, to extend the succours after the peace was made, beyond what you were obliged to by the treaty, that to testify the better his acknowledgments to you, he would grant without any farther deliberation what his subjects so pressingly asked of him. The next day in the morning he went to the House of Lords in his robes, sent for the Commons, and spoke in the terms your Majesty will see by the copy of his speech, which was followed with cries and acclamations of joy from the whole parliament; and as soon as the House of Lords broke up, the Commons went immediately upon the act of supply they had promised

him; so that it is to be hoped this affair will be finished to-morrow, or the day after, to the King's entire satisfaction. The whole people who were already greatly alarmed with the apprehension of a civil war, made bonfires in every street upon this happy reconciliation of the King and parliament; even the bitterness which the house of commons had manifested against the Catholics, is a little softened by the general consent the King has given to every act they think proper to make for the security of the protestant religion: and as he made no secret of the mild and moderate counsels which your Majesty gave him, some members of parliament told me, that the whole body felt themselves obliged to your Majesty for this accommodation; so that affairs here are now in the best condition you can desire for the advantage of your own; and the King has assured me, that he will have this year as powerful a fleet as he had the last.

I did not think it was for your Majesty's service, to follow the measures you prescribed to me with regard to the offer of the troops which you were willing to assist the King with, for the execution of his designs after the peace; for as he is persuaded as well as his ministers, that nothing is so capable of causing a general revolt in the nation, as to shew them that he can support his authority by foreign forces, he has often given me to understand, and my lord Arlington has done so also, that he would not make use of the succour with which your Majesty is obliged to furnish him, except in extreme necessity: thus I thought it better only to assure him in general, that your Majesty would not limit yourself to the terms of the treaty, but that, agreeable to the sentiments of your affection, after the war was ended, you would not only send over the six thousand men that were promised, but as many more as he should stand in need of. I have reason to believe they will make no demand too chargeable to your Majesty upon this head.

It appears from a variety of dispatches in the *Depot*, that while Charles listened to terms of peace with the Dutch in the autumn of the year 1673, he asked a million of livres extraordinary from France for the support of his fleet, but got a refusal; that the duke of York opposed the peace strongly; that in the end of the year the French sent over Monsieur de Rouvigny to tempt the King with an anticipation of the payment of his subsidy; that he pleaded the necessity of his affairs at home as an apology to France for quitting the war, but promised in the capacity of a mediator to assist her.

It is not impossible that, for the reasons given in the "Review of the events of the reign of Charles," prefixed to "the Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland," Charles's original intention was to prolong the war between France and Holland, under the pretence of being the mediator of peace, partly to get money to himself from both sides, and partly to give England an opportunity in the mean time to run away with the trade of the world. Charles in a discourse with Courtin, the French ambassador, once let the last of these consequences drop from him. Courtin writes to Louis, 21 June, 1677, that Charles said to him,—"*Qu'au fonde l'Angleterre jouissoit d'une profonde tranquillité, et qu'elle s'enrichissoit, pendant que toutes les etats voisins etoient epuises ou ruines par la guerre; que les Anglois le remerciroient un jour de ce qu'il les avoit maintenu par sa prudence dans un etat si heureux, et si avantageux pour leur commerce.*" In the *Depot*. —"That at the bottom England enjoyed a profound tranquility, and enriched herself, while all the neighbouring states were drained or ruined by the war; and that the English would one day thank him for having kept them by his prudence in so happy a state, and so advantageous for their commerce."

But if these were Charles's views, those of the duke of York, who was less politick, were different. He was very sincere in desiring to procure a peace for France soon after England had withdrawn from the war.

On this head there are two letters from him to the Prince of Orange in King William's box.

*Letter from Duke of York to the Prince of Orange. —
Advises him to peace with France.*

Whithall, Oct. 22, 1674.

DEARE Nephew, I would not lett this bearer M. de Reede, returne back to you without writing to you by him, to assure you, I am very glad that you have made so good an end of the campagne, after all the hardships you have endured, and dangers you have exposed yourself to; and now that you have freed your country of so ill a neighbourhood as that of Grana was, and by it put all the provinces at ease, and got so much reputation as you have, that you will turn your thoughts to the making a good and honorable peace, which I am sure is for all our interests; I have spoken my mind very freely to this bearer upon this subject, so that I shall say no more to you of it now, but refer you to him, and desire you to believe that I am with all immaginable kindnesse,

Deare Nephew, your most affectionat Uncle,

JAMES.

For my Deare Nephew,
the Prince of Orange.

Duke

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange. — To the same purpose.

St. James's, Jan. 12, 1675.

DEARE Nephew, I believe you will not be sorry to heare of the Dutcheſſes being ſafely delivered, it is but a daughter, but God be praized, they are both very well ; I ſhall make uſe of this occaſion alſo, to tell you I received your letter by the earle of Offory, and am very glad both by him and the lord Chamberlin to find you are ſo well inclined to have a peace, which I am fully perſwaded is both for your intereſt in particular, as well as for the repoſe of Chriſtendome, and good of our family in generall ; I ſhall ſay no more to you now, but to aſſure you that you ſhall always find me to be,

Dear Nephew

Your affectionate Uncle,

JAMES.

For my Deare Nephew,
the Prince of Orange.

In February, 1673, Charles informed the parliament of his peace with Holland, and ſoon after prorogued it till the 10th of November, 1674. Even at this early period the duke of York had a preſcience of the excluſion ; for Colbert writes on the 10th Auguſt, 1673, that the duke of York told him he was afraid of it. Louis was at the ſame time afraid, that if the parliament met in November it might force Charles into a war with him, and that the forces might be ready the enſuing ſpring. In the *Depot* there are two letters in Auguſt, 1674, from Monſ. Rouvigny, ambaffador in England, to his court ; the firſt of which bears, that the duke of York told him that a clergyman had adviſed him to aſk 400,000*l.* for his brother

ther to prorogue the parliament, and that the duke of York had desired Rouvigny to mention this to Louis ; and the other, that the duke had come down to 300,000 pistoles. These proposals tally very well with the beginning of Coleman's correspondence : Vide that correspondence. This gave an opening for France to renew her secret money transactions with Charles.

In the Depot.

Rouvigny writes, 2d Sept. 1674, that Charles had agreed either to prorogue his parliament till April 1675, in consideration of 500,000 crowns, or if he convened it in November, to dissolve it in case it should refuse to give him money, in consideration of which he was to have a pension of 100,000*l.* from France. Charles afterwards chose the first of these alternatives, got his money, and France was enabled to carry on the war a year without any fear of an English parliament.

This bargain paved the way to a formal treaty in the beginning of the year 1676, but executed in a very extraordinary manner between the two Princes, by which they obliged themselves to enter into no treaties without mutual consent, and Charles obliged himself to prorogue or dissolve his parliament if it should endeavour to force such treaties upon him. The consideration for this treaty was a pension from France. I could not discover from the dispatches what the amount of it was, but found several payments made to Charles in consequence of it. The treaty was known to none but the Dukes of York and Lauderdale, and Lord Danby.

The first of Rouvigny's letters in the *Depot*, which discloses the King of England's wishes for a treaty at this time, is in the following words.

Extrait,

Extrait de la lettre de Mr. Rouvigny au Roi, du 9 Janvier, 1676.

“**E**N suite Mr. le duc d'York et Lauderdale ap- In the Depos.
 puyerent si fortement ses raisons, que le grand
 trésorier s'y rendit, de sorte qu'il fût arrêté dans ce
 conseil qu'on s'engageroit présentement avec votre Ma-
 jesté si elle l'avoit agréable. Le Roi d'Angleterre
 m'en donna avis le même jour, et me pressoit fort de
 passer en France pour en porter la nouvelle à votre
 Majesté, ne pouvant pas consentir qu'un secret, qui a
 son gré ne sauroit être trop couvert, fût confié à du
 papier, ou à d'autres personnes qu'à moi. C'est ce
 qui m'obligea de mander à votre Majesté il y a huit
 jours, que je partirois bientôt sans sa permission ; mais
 ayant eû plus d'affection que de force, j'ai été con-
 traint de m'arrêter, et d'écrire par mon secrétaire.
 Voici ce que le Roi d'Angleterre m'a chargé de faire
 savoir à votre Majesté, qu'il desire avec passion de se
 lier étroitement avec vous ; qu'en attendant qu'on le
 fasse par un traité solennel, on peut commencer pré-
 sentement, en secret, par des promesses réciproques par
 écrit, qui l'engageront aussi bien que votre Majesté, à
 ne faire aucun traité avec quelque état que ce soit, sans
 le consentement de l'un et de l'autre ; ni à donner au-
 cune assistance à vos ennemis ni à vos sujets rebelles.
 Que si votre Majesté approuve ce projet, elle me l'en-
 verra par mon secrétaire avec un pouvoir de le signer :
 Ce Prince m'a dit encore, qu'il y a deux raisons qui
 l'obligent à désirer passionnément que vos intérêts ne
 vous empêchent pas de consentir à échanger les places
 que tiennent Gand et Bruxelles investies ; savoir le
 paix et son peuple : que les Etats Généraux ne feront
 pas la paix tandis que les villes de Flandre, qui appar-
 tiennent au Roi d'Espagne, seront toujours divisées,
 comme elles sont par celles qui sont sous l'obéissance de
 votre Majesté, et qu'elles ne seront que des frontieres :
 Que cette province demeurant dans l'état qu'elle est pré-
 sentement,

sentement, toute l'Angleterre sera toujours persuadée que votre Majesté en achevera facilement la conquête toutes les fois qu'il lui plaira ; et qu'il n'y a que cet échange qui puisse desabuser son peuple de l'opinion qu'il en a conçue depuis longtems : Qu'il fait très bien que votre Majesté ne manque pas de bonnes raisons pour ne le pas faire ; mais qu'il croit aussi qu'elle donnera les mains à un échange, sans quoi il n'y aura point de paix générale, ni de repos en Angleterre qu'il n'ait contenté son peuple ; tout lequel est pleinement persuadé qu'il abandonne ses intérêts par un excès d'affection qu'il a pour la France : Que cette opinion souleve tous ses sujets contre lui : Qu'il n'y a que deux moyens qui puissent le faire sortir d'un embarras si fâcheux, et le mettre en état de plaire à son peuple : Le premier, qu'on sache qu'il a sollicité et obtenu de votre Majesté l'échange qui donnera la paix ; et l'autre que pour la rendre stable, il est entré avec les Hollandois dans le traité de garantie pour la conservation de la Flandre et pour la sûreté de l'Angleterre. Ce Prince a continué de me dire qu'il m'informoit par avance de tout ce qu'il seroit obligé de faire pour le faire savoir à votre Majesté à fin que ses desseins vous soient pleinement connus, et que vous ne puissiez pas prendre à l'avenir aucun soupçon de sa conduite, ni de l'affection inébranlable qu'il aura toute sa vie pour les intérêts de votre Majesté. Voila, Sire, les choses que ce prince m'a dites, et que j'ai écrites en sa présence et dans son cabinet."

Je suis, &c.

(Signe) ROUVIGNY.

Translation.

Extract of a Letter from Mr. de Rouvigny to the King, 9th January, 1676. — Charles proposes a new secret treaty with France.

"**A**fterwards the duke of York and Lauderdale supported his (that is Charles's) reasons so strongly,

strongly, that the high treasurer gave way to them, so that it was agreed in this council to engage directly with your majesty if it was agreeable. The King of England informed me of it the same day, and pressed me much to go to France to carry the news of it to your Majesty, as he could not consent that a secret, which in his opinion could not be too much hid, should be trusted to paper, or to any person but myself. This obliged me to let your Majesty know eight days ago that I should soon depart without permission; *but having more affection than strength*, I have been obliged to stop, and write by my secretary. What the King of England charged me to make known to your majesty is, that he desires passionately to unite himself strictly with you; that without waiting till it can be done by a solemn treaty, it may be begun at present, in secret, by reciprocal promises in writing, which should bind him, as well as your Majesty, not to make any treaty with any state whatever without the consent of the other; or to give any assistance to the enemies or rebellious subjects of either: That if your Majesty approves this project, you will send it by my secretary with a power to sign it. This prince also said to me, that he had two reasons which made it necessary for him to desire passionately that your interest should not hinder you from consenting to exchange the places which hold Ghent and Brussels invested. These are the peace and his people: That the States General will not make a peace as long as the towns in Flanders, which belong to the King of Spain, are separate as they are by those which are under your Majesty's obedience, and are no more than frontiers: That as long as that province continues in its present state, all England will be always persuaded that your Majesty can easily make a conquest of it whenever you please; and that nothing but this exchange can disabuse his people in the opinion they have long formed on that head: That he very well knows your Majesty does not want good reasons for not doing it.

it; but he also believes you will consent to an exchange, without which there will be no general peace, nor quiet in England till he has contented his people; all of whom are fully persuaded that he abandons their interest, through an excess of affection for France: That this opinion raises all his subjects against him: That there are but two ways of bringing him out of so troublesome an embarrassment, and putting him in a condition to please his people: The first, that they may know that he has solicited, and obtained of your Majesty, the exchange which will give peace, and the other that to render it stable, he has entered into a treaty of guarantee with the Dutch for the preservation of Flanders and the safety of England. This prince continued to say that he would inform me before hand of all he should be obliged to do, in order that his designs might be fully known to you, and that you might not hereafter have any suspicion of his conduct, nor of the unalterable affection which he will have all his life for your Majesty's interests. These, Sire, are the things this prince said to me, and which I write in his presence and closet." I am, &c.

(Signed) ROUVIGNY.

The other conditions of this treaty, as stated above, having been afterwards in the course of it proposed and agreed to, it was executed in a mode that shows the miserable state to which an English Prince may be reduced, who thinks it is possible for him to have an interest of his own separate from that of his people.

*Extrait de la lettre de Monsf. Rouvigny au Roi, du 27
Fevrier, 1676.*

In the Depot.

"J'AI fait savoir à Monsf. de Pomponne par la lettre que je lui ai envoyée le 17 de ce mois, que le Roi d'Angleterre ayant assemblé Monsf. le Duc d'York, le Duc de Loderdail, et le grand Trésorier, pour conférer

rer avec eux sur l'écrit qui est connue de votre Majesté ; ce dernier ministre demanda à son maître du tems pour l'examiner avant que d'en donner son avis. Les affaires ou d'autres raisons l'ont empêché de le faire pendant dix jours. En fin, le grand Trésorier a été voir le Duc de Loderdail, à qui il a représenté le peril qu'il y auroit pour leurs têtes, s'ils étoient seuls à délibérer sur le traité, et à le signer. De quoi le Roi d'Angleterre étant averti, il les a fait venir dans son cabinet avec Mons. le Duc d'York ; ou ayant été proposé d'admettre dans ce conseil le grand Chancelier et tous les autres ministres, ce Prince leur a dit, qu'il ne desiroit rien au monde plus passionnément qu'une bonne alliance avec votre Majesté ; qu'étant médiateur, la conjoncture du tems ne lui permettoit pas qu'on eût la moindre connoissance qu'il eût conclu et signé un traité avec la France ; que la chose ne pourroit pas manquer d'être publique si elle étoit portée dans son conseil, et s'il falloit se servir de son grand sceau ; que pour le tenir bien secrette il ne desiroit pas que ses autres ministres en eussent aucune connoissance ; que pour cet effet il ne vouloit pas nommer des commissaires, ni faire expédier des pouvoirs ; qu'il avoit résolu de signer le traité de sa main, et d'y apposer son cachet en ma présence, aussitôt qu'il seroit convenu des articles avec moi ; qu'il ne doutoit pas que votre Majesté n'en fit de même, et que si elle l'assuroit par un billet écrit de sa main, qu'elle a signé ce traité, et qu'elle y a mis son cachet, il le recevrait avec plus de confiance que si un de ces ministres en avoit été témoin ; qu'eux trois n'avoient qu'à examiner en sa présence le projet que j'avois mis depuis 20 jours entre ses mains, et de lui en dire leurs pensées. Voici, Sire, le résultat de ce conseil que le Duc de Loderdail vint me dire chez moi par ordre du Roi son maître.

Le Roi d'Angleterre m'a dit que ne pouvant pas confier une affaire de cette importance à ses secretaires d'état, il avoit résolu pour le plus grand secret de copi-

et lui même le projet que je lui avois donné, et de le signer en ma présence ; ce qu'il fit hier matin ; après quoi il alluma lui même une bougie, et apposa son cachet à côté de son seing, en me disant que ce n'étoit que le cachet de son chiffre, parceque depuis peu il avoit perdu celui de ses armes qui étoient gravées sur un diamant du Roi Jacques son grand pere, que le feu Roi étant sur l'échaffaut donna à l'Evêque de Londres pour le remettre entre ses mains : il fit ensuite appeler le Duc de Loderdail, qui est le seul en qui il a pris dans cette occasion une confiance entière, pour lui dire qu'étant pressé d'aller à Windsor, il le chargeoit de mon écrit, qu'il avoit copié mot à mot, et qu'il lui ordonnoit de me le voir signer, et de m'engager par écrit, en vertu du pouvoir qu'il a plû à votre Majesté de m'envoyer, que dans 20 jours, ou plutôt, si faire se peut, je lui remettrois entre les mains un pareil traité signé de la main de votre Majesté, et cacheté du sçel de son secret, lui enjoignant expressément qu'il eût soin de lui fendre mon écrit à son retour de Windsor. Je dépêche, Sire, mon secretaire pour plus de précaution, pour porter à votre Majesté le traité que le Roi d'Angleterre a écrit, signé et cacheté devant moi, et pour m'apporter, si votre Majesté le trouve à propos, celui qu'elle aura signé et auquel elle aura fait mettre le sçel de son secret, avec le billet de sa main dont j'ai fait mention cy dessus.

Sire, votre Majesté voit bien par tout ce qui s'est passé dans cette affaire, que le Roi d'Angleterre est comme abandonné de ses ministres même les plus confidens ; que le grand trésorier qui a beaucoup plus de peur du parlement que de son maitre, et qui est très contraire aux interêts de la France, prétendant par là de s'acquiescer la faveur du peuple, a formé toutes les difficultés que j'ai mandées, à dessein d'empêcher la conclusion de ce traité, ou du moins d'en retarder l'accomplissement. Le Duc de Loderdail a soutenu le Roi son maitre, ayant sans comparaison plus de respect et de zele que ses collègues. Mr. le duc d'York, qui est tout entier dans les interêts de votre Majesté, ne s'est presque pas mêlé dans

ces difficultés, parcequ'il a vû que le Roi son frere étoit assez ferme pour n'avoir pas besoin de ses avis.

Par toutes ces circonstances, Sire, votre Majesté jugerameux de l'état de l'Angleterre, que par toutes les choses que j'ai représentées dans mes lettres; et l'on aura bien de la peine à s'imaginer qu'un Roi soit tellement abandonné de ses sujets, que même parmi ses ministres, il n'en trouve pas un en qui il puisse prendre une entière confiance. Cet exemple, Sire, fera bien voir à votre Majesté que toute l'Angleterre est contraire au bien de ses intérêts, et qu'il n'y a que le Roi de la Grande Bretagne seul, et Mr. le duc d'York qui les embrassent avec affection; et par là, Sire, votre Majesté connoitra que ce traité est nécessaire pour la sûreté de votre service, puisqu'il vous assure que l'Angleterre ne fera pas contre vous. Il est vrai, Sire, que vous n'en tirerez pas tous les secours que l'on pourroit le promettre d'une bonne alliance, mais aussi vos ennemis en auront beaucoup moins que votre Majesté. Et de plus il y auroit grand sujet de craindre que le Roi d'Angleterre n'eût en fin été entraîné dans les sentimens de son peuple, sans ce nouveau lien qui l'engage plus que jamais dans vos intérêts. Ce sera un appui pour sa fermeté capable de la rendre assez constante pour faire que ses sujet qui en sont surpris jusqu'aujourd'hui, en seront si étonnés à l'avenir qu'il pourront peut être se conformer aux intentions de leur maitre. On a jetté les fondemens pour travailler à ce dessein, qui sera utile à l'Angleterre et à la France, en cas qu'il réussisse, et que ne réussissant pas, n'empirera point dans ce royaume les affaires de votre Majesté. Cependant, Dieu veuille donner la paix à la Chrétienté. Les parlemens sont à craindre, et c'est une espece de miracle de voir qu'un Roi sans armes et sans argent leur ait résisté si long-tems."

Je suis, &c.

(Signé) ROUVIGNY.

Translation.

Extract of a letter from Monfr. Rouvigny to Louis the XIVth, 27 Feb. 1676.——Charles's ministers afraid to be parties to the new money treaty with France.——Charles writes it himself.

Sire,

“**I** ACQUAINTED Monf. de Pomponne by the letter I sent him the 17th of this month that the King of England having convened the duke of York, the duke of Lauderdale, and the high Treasurer, to confer with them upon the paper which your Majesty knows of, this last minister asked time to examine it before he gave his opinion upon it. Business or other reasons have prevented him from doing it these ten days. In fine, the treasurer has been to see the duke of Lauderdale, to whom he has represented the risk they should run of losing their heads if they alone were to deliberate upon the treaty, and to sign it. The King of England being informed of this, sent for them and the duke of York into his closet, where it being proposed to admit into this council the high Chancellor and all the other ministers, he told them, that he desired nothing in the world more passionately than a good alliance with your Majesty; that being mediator, the conjuncture of the time did not allow him to let people have the least knowledge of his having concluded and signed a treaty with France; that the thing could not fail of being made publick if brought before the council, or if he was obliged to make use of his great seal: that to keep it an entire secret, he did not desire his ministers should have any knowledge of it; that for this reason he would name no commissioners, nor give any powers; that he had resolved to sign the treaty with his own hand, and seal it with his seal in my presence, as soon as he should have agreed upon the articles with me; that he did not doubt your Ma-
jesty

jeſty would do the ſame, and that if you would aſſure him by a billet wrote with your own hand, that you had ſigned the treaty and fixed your ſeal to it, he would receive it with greater confidence than if one of his miniſters had been witneſs to it; that theſe three had only to examine in his preſence the project which I had put into his hands twenty days ago, and gave him their thoughts upon it. This, Sire, is the reſult of this council, which the duke of Lauderdale came to inform me of at my houſe by order of the King his maſter.

The King of England told me, that as he could not truſt an affair of this importance to his ſecretaries of ſtate (Coventry and Williamſon) he had reſolved for the greater ſecreſy to copy himſelf the inſtrument which I had given him, and to ſign it in my preſence: This he did yeſterday morning; after which he lighted a wax candle himſelf, and affixed his ſeal to his ſignature, at the ſame time ſaying that it was only a ſeal with his cypher, for that a little while ſince he had loſt the ſeal with his arms, which were engraved on a diamond of King James his grandfather, and which when the deceased King was on the ſcaffold he gave to the biſhop of London to be delivered into his hands: he afterwards called for the duke of Lauderdale, who is the only one in whom on this occaſion he has put an entire confidence, and told him, that being preſſed to go to Windſor, he had charged him with my paper, which he had copied himſelf word for word, and that he ordered him to ſee me ſign it, and to oblige me by a writing, in virtue of the full power your Majeſty was pleaſed to ſend me, that in twenty days or ſooner, if it could be done, I would tranſmit him a ſimilar treaty ſigned with your own hand, and ſealed with your privy ſeal, and expreſſly enjoined him to

take care to give him my writing at his return from Windsor. I dispatch, Sire, my Secretary, for greater precaution, to carry to your Majesty the treaty which the King of England hath wrote, signed, and sealed before me, and to bring me back, if your Majesty thinks proper, that which you will sign and seal with your privy seal, together with the billet wrote with your hand as I have before mentioned.

Sire, your Majesty will see by all that has passed in this affair, that the King of England is in a manner abandoned by his ministers, even the most confidential, that the treasurer, who fears the parliament much more than his master, and who is very opposite to the interests of France, thereby endeavouring to acquire the people's favour, has formed all the difficulties which I mentioned, with a design to hinder the treaty being concluded, or at least to retard it. The duke of Lauderdale has supported his master; having without comparison more zeal and respect than his colleagues. The duke of York, who is entirely in your Majesty's interest, hath hardly troubled himself with these difficulties, because he saw the King his brother was firm enough not to stand in need of his advice.

From all these circumstances, your Majesty will judge better of the state of England, than from all I have represented in my letters: and it will be difficult to conceive, that a King should be so abandoned by his subjects that even amongst his ministers he cannot find one in whom he can place an entire confidence. This example will plainly shew your Majesty that all England is against your interests, and that there is only the King of England and the duke of York who embrace them with affection; and from thence your Majesty will see that this treaty is necessary for the security of your service, since it assures you that England will not be against you. - It is true, Sire, that you will
not

not reap all the assistance that might have been expected from a good alliance, but your enemies will have still less than your Majesty; and besides, there is great reason to believe that the king of England, without this new tie which engages him more than ever in your interests, might have been drawn into his people's sentiments. It will confirm his steadiness so much, that his subjects, who have been surprized at it hitherto, may be so much astonished for the future, as perhaps to conform to their master's intentions. The foundations are laid to work upon a design, which will be useful to England and France, in case it succeeds, and if it does not, your Majesty's affairs in this kingdom will not be the worse. In the mean time, God grant peace to Christendom. The parliaments are to be feared, and it is a kind of miracle to see a King without arms and money resist them so long."

I am, &c.

(Signed) ROUVIGNY.

The same year in which this private treaty was made, the Dutch and Spaniards endeavoured to form a treaty with England for the protection of the Netherlands: Charles communicated this to Courtin, the French ambassador, who upon that occasion wrote thus to Louis the XIVth, on the 21st Sept. 1676.——

“ Il dit qu’il (Charles) scavoit bien l’engagement dans lequel il etoit de ne traiter avec les Etats Généraux, ni avec aucun Prince sans votre participation et votre consentement.——Qu’il m’engagoit sa foy et son honneur de me communiquer toutes les articles du traité, et de ne jamais rien signer que votre Majesté n’y consentit.”——“ He (Charles) said that he knew very well the engagement he was under not to treat with the States General, nor with any prince without your participation and your consent.—— That he engaged

his faith and honour to communicate to me all the articles of the treaty, and never to sign any thing your Majesty did not consent to."

Upon the peace between England and Holland, the Prince of Orange pressed Charles to withdraw the English troops which were in the pay of France. From Rouvigny's dispatches in the *Depot*, it appears that Charles often expressed, in very strong terms, that he thought his own conduct ignominious in deserting France in the war: and with regard to recalling these troops, Rouvigny writes, 19 February, 1674. —

In the *Depot*.

"Et pour les troupes Angloises qui sont en France, il m'a dit plus positivement encore que n'avoit fait son ministre, qu'il ne les rappelleroit point, quelque instance que lui en eut fait, soit par les Espagnoles et Hollandois, soit par le parlement même." — "And with regard to the English troops in France, he told me more positively than his minister had done, that he would not recall them, whatever instance should be made to him, either by the Spaniards or Dutch, or even by the parliament." He was as good as his word, for he afterwards rejected the advice of his parliament upon that head.

It is known that Charles afterwards promised the Prince of Orange not to permit these troops to be recruited; they however always were recruited, and the dispatches in the *Depot* show that Charles assured France it always should be so.

The general train of the French dispatches in the *Depot*, during the negotiations at Nimeguen, shows, that while Charles was acting as mediator of the peace, he gave France intelligence of the views of her enemies, and acted in concert with her. Sir William Temple's printed letters show that the unfortunate suc-
cess

cess of the campaign of the year 1676, had made the Dutch, and even the Prince, anxious for a peace; and that the Prince gave Sir William leave to let his master know it. Upon this occasion Courtin, in a letter to Louis the XIVth, 5th November, 1676, writes *In the Depot.* thus.——“ Il me mena dans un cabinet, ou, après avoir fermé la porte, j'ai, dit il, une bonne nouvelle à vous apprendre, c'est que je crois avoir à cette heure la paix entre mes mains. Il me chargea de conjurer instamment votre Majesté de sa part de lui faire connoître ses intentions, à fin qu'il peut se regler sur cette connoissance, pour faire une proposition.”——“ He took me into a closet, where, after having shut the door, I have, said he, good news to tell you, which is, that I believe I have at this instant the peace in my own hands. He charged me to conjure your Majesty, instantly, to let him know your intentions, to the end that upon this knowledge he may regulate himself to make a proposal.”

It appears from many of the dispatches, that the *In the Depot.* French court prevented the Prince of Orange's marriage with the lady Mary, in the year 1674; that upon this occasion the King and duke expressed strongly their dislike of the Prince of Orange; and that the duke of York flattered himself with the prospect of marrying her to the dauphin of France.

The 500,000 crowns abovementioned, which Louis secretly gave Charles in the year 1674, to prorogue his parliament till April, 1675, saved France from the possibility of an English armament in the campaign of the year 1675; and the abovementioned secret pension given in the beginning of the year 1676, made him secure of Charles's baffling the attempts of his parliament to engage him in a war with France in the campaign

paign of the year 1676 : But in the beginning of the year 1677, the clamours of parliament and of the nation having encreased for a war with Holland, the French redoubled their attentions to Charles, the particulars of which follow.

In the *Deput.*

The session, 1677, was opened with Charles's becoming the instrument of bribing his own subjects, with French money, to prevent a French war. Courtin writes thus to Louis the XIVth, on the 14th February, 1677. " J'ai reçu la lettre de change, de 11000 livres sterlings, sur le quartier d'Octobre ; elle est venu fort à propos, parceque le Roi d'Angleterre avoit besoin d'argent pour gagner ceux qui sont accoutumé à ne faire de bruit que pour faire les mieux acheter." — " I received the bill of exchange, for 11000*l.* sterling, on the October quarter : It came very apropos, for the King of England wanted money to gain those who are accustomed to make a noise only in order to be the better bought."

In the *Deput.*

On the 1st April, 1677, he writes thus again. " Il est da ma connoissance, qu'il (Charles) a distribué tout l'argent qu'il a reçu par mes mains, pour gagner les suffrages dont il avoit besoin : Il a si bien servi le Roi jusqu' à cette heure, qu'il le merite d'être assisté dans ses necessités ; et il sera très important de prendre soin de l'entretenir dans les bonnes dispositions dans lesquelles je l'ai laissé encore hier au soir." — " To my knowledge, he (Charles) has distributed all the money he received from my hands, to gain the votes he stood in need of : He has so well served the King to this hour, that he deserves to be assisted in his necessities, and it will be very important to take care to keep him in the good disposition in which I left him yesterday evening."

Courtin assigns this very extraordinary reason for urging his court to send money to Charles to be distributed

tributed among the members of parliament, to wit, that Spain and the Emperor were sending money to be distributed among them on the other side. On the 13th May, 1677, he writes thus to his court. “ Il est *In the Depot.* même très important que votre Majesté envoie icy le premier term du subsidé. Monfr. de Bergick et l’Envoy de l’Empereur auront deux cens cinquante mille livres à distribuer dans la chambre basse. Ils feront plus avec cela qu’on n’y pourroit faire de la part de votre Majesté avec deux millions. — “ It is even very important that your Majesty sends here the first payment of the subsidy. Mr. Bergick and the Emperor’s envoy will have two hundred and fifty thousand livres to distribute in the lower house. They will do more with this than could be done on your Majesty’s part with two millions.” On the 20th May, 1677, he writes to his court thus. — “ Monfr Bergick n’a reçu *In Doctor* 50,000 ecus, et l’Envoy de l’Empereur n’en apporté pour 10,000 pistoles, que dans ce dessein.” — “ Mr. Bergick has not received 50,000 crowns, and the Emperor’s envoy 10,000 pistoles, but with this design.”

On the 22d February, 1677, Courtin advises his *In the Depot.* court to offer 400,000 crowns extraordinary to Charles to prorogue or dissolve his parliament.

On the 21st April, 1677, Courtin’s dispatch bears, *In the Depot.* that he had got a power to make this offer. What consequence this had does not appear.

But as the session of parliament rose in its heat, the French rose in their offers to Charles. Courtin’s letter of June 21, 1677, bears, that he had got a power to go as far as 200,000*l.* to be given to Charles for the ensuing year.

On the 12th July, 1677, Courtin writes, that he *In the Depot.* had offered Charles a pension of 500,000 crowns to pro-
I 4 rogue

rogue or dissolve the parliament, together with the assistance of Louis's forces, to maintain Charles's authority. The words with regard to this last offer are these.—“ Sa Majesté étant toujours prête à employer toutes ses forces pour la confirmation, et pour l'augmentation de son autorité, il seroit toujours le maître de ses sujets, et ne dependroit jamais d'eux.” — “ His Majesty (that is Louis) being always ready to employ all his forces for the confirmation and augmentation of his (that is Charles's) authority, he will always be master of his subjects, and will never depend upon them.”

In the Depot.

On the 18th July, 1677, Courtin writes, that Charles had insisted for 800,000 crowns, in consideration of which, he offered to prorogue the parliament till the end of April, 1678.

In a subsequent letter he writes that he is disputing about the sum, that lord Danby always raised it, but the duke of York brought it down again.

At last, on the 5th of August it was fixed at two millions of livres. The following dispatch will explain the terms on which this money was secretly given by France.

Extrait de la lettre de Mr. Courtin au Roi, 5 Aoust, 1677.

In the Depot.

NOUS avons eû de grandes contestations, milord trésorier et moi, depuis trois jours ; il n'a rien oublié pour persuader au Roi son maître qu'il ne pourroit pas subsister cette année, à moins que votre Majesté ne lui donnât 800 mille écus ; jusqu' à dire en ma présence, que votre Majesté ne hazardoit que de l'argent, et que le Roi d'Angleterre hazardoit sa couronne, en s'opposant comme il faisoit au desir universel de tous ses sujets. Je suis demeuré ferme dans le dessein de ne pas épuiser

épuiser le pouvoir qu'il avoit plû à votre Majesté de me donner. En fin, après diverses conferences je viens de convenir de toutes choses d'une maniere qui me fait esperer que votre Majesté ne me desavouera pas. Le Roi d'Angleterre m'a donné une parole positive d'ajourner le parlement quand le 13 du mois Decembre sera venu, jusqu' à la fin du mois d'Avril, c'est à dire jusqu' au 9 ou 10 du mois de Mai selon de stile de France. Je lui ai promis que votre Majesté lui fera payer cette année deux millions de livres, et quand le dernier payement ne se fera que trois ou quatre mois après la fin du mois de Decembre, sa Majesté Britannique ne prétendra pas avoir aucun sujet de s'en plaindre. Mais parceque je lui ai représenté, qu'il n'étoit pas moins de ses intérêts que de ceux de votre Majesté que les ministres de confédérés fussent informés de bonne heure de cette résolution, pour ôter à leur Maitres l'espérance qu'ils conservent d'engager l'Angleterre dans leurs parti : le Roi d'Angleterre ayant reconnu qu'il étoit le moyen le plus efficace qu'il pût employer pour disposer les ennemis de votre Majesté à la paix, a bien voulu me promettre, que lorsque Mr. de Bergeik prendra congé de lui (ce qui arrivera dans peu de jours) il le chargera de déclarer de sa part au Roi d'Espagne, qu' aucune consideration ne sera capable de la porter à entrer dans la guerre présente ; et que pour s'appliquer tout entier à procurer la paix par sa médiation, il a résolu de ne point assembler son parlement pendant cet hyver, et d'en remettre la séance jusqu' au printems.

Sa dite Majesté m'a aussi donné parole de faire la même déclaration à tous les autres ministres des confédérés dans le même tems : ainsi au lieu que votre Majesté (suivant les ordres qu'elle m'avoit donnés par sa dépêche du 28 du mois passé) souhaitoit de faire éclatter cette résolution que vers la fin du mois d'Octobre, je puis l'assûrer que le bruit en sera répandu avant le premier jour du mois de Septembre par toute l'Angleterre, et que dans le 15 du même mois la vérité en sera connu

à la Haye, et Copenhague, à Berlin, à Vienne et à Madrid.”

Translation.

Extract of a letter from Mr. Courtin to Louis the XIVth, 5th August, 1677.——Charles has agreed to prorogue his parliament till May, 1678, in consideration of two millions of livres from France.

“MY Lord Treasurer and I have had great contests these three days; he did every thing to persuade the King his master that he could not subsist this year unless your Majesty gave him eight hundred thousand crowns. He even said in my presence that your Majesty hazarded nothing but money, whereas the King of England hazarded his crown, by opposing, as he did, the universal desire of his subjects. I remained firm in not exhausting the power your Majesty was pleased to give me. In fine, after many conferences, I have agreed upon all things in such a way as makes me hope your Majesty will not disavow me. The King of England has given me a positive assurance that he will adjourn his parliament from the 13th of December to the end of April, that is, to the 9th or 10th of May according to the French stile. I promised that your Majesty would pay him this year two millions of livres. But though the last payment should not be made till three or four months after the month of December, his Britannic Majesty would have no cause to complain. But because I represented to him that it was not less his interest than your Majesty’s to inform the ministers of the confederates in good time of this resolution, in order to remove all the hopes their masters still entertain of England taking part with them; the King of England acknowledged it was the most efficacious means he could employ to dispose your Majesty’s enemies to a peace, and promised me, that as soon as Mr. de Bergeik takes leave of him (which will be in a few days) he will give him in charge to declare on his part to the King of Spain,

Spain, that no consideration is capable of making him enter into the present war ; and that in order to his being able to apply himself entirely to procure a peace by his mediation, he had resolved not to assemble his parliament during the winter, but to postpone it till the spring.

His Majesty also gave me his word to make the same declaration to all the other ministers of the confederates at the same time : Thus instead of your Majesty's desire (agreeable to your orders of the 20th of last month), that this resolution should be made known towards the end of October, I can assure you that the report will be spread throughout all England before the 1st of September, and that by the 15th of the same month the truth of it will be known at the Hague, Copenhagen, Berlin, Vienna and Madrid."

After the bargain was struck, Mountagu, who was Ambassador in France, and Lord Danby, prevailed on King Charles to pretend that he had made a mistake in valuing two millions of livres at 200,000l. and to insist that the sum should be 200,000l. neat. Vide the Duke of Leeds's letters on this subject. The accident of Courtin returning to France, and Barillon, a new ambassador, coming in his place, made this game the more easy to be played. The following dispatch will shew the strange comedy which a King of England acted concerning this pretended mistake in calculation.

Extrait de la lettre de Mr. de Barillon au Roi, du 4 Octobre, 1677.

" **A** PRES cela, Sire, je crûs devoir entamer l'affaire *In the Depot.* des deux cents mille livres sterlings ; et dire au Roi d'Angleterre la surprise qu'avoit eue votre Majesté d'apprehendre que Mr. de Montaigu renouvelloit une affaire finie : il m'interrompit d'abord, et me dit, au nom

nom de Dieu, ne me parles point de cette affaire ; j'en suis si confus que je ne puis en entendre parler : voyés Mr. le Trésorier, et faites comme vous l'entendrés avec lui ; car pour moi je suis au desespoir quand on m'en parle. Je lui dis, mais, Sire, votre Majesté voit bien qu'en me renvoyant à Mr. le Trésorier, c'est jeter l'affaire dans de nouveaux embarras, car Mr. le Trésorier ne se rendra pas : Il a fait d'abord un incident sur les cent mille écus qui avoient été payés ; et comme il a vû que votre Majesté avoit condamné cette prétension, il revient présentement à former une nouvelle difficulté. Mr. Courtin même, à qui votre Majesté ne voudroit pas nuire auprès du Roi mon maitre, se trouve embarrassé en cela : et on dit qu' il n'a pas bien compris ce qui s'est passé entre votre Majesté et lui, et que c'est sa faute d'avoir mandé qu' une affaire étoit finie, dans laquelle vous n'aviés dit que des paroles d'honnêteté. Le Roi d'Angleterre, que ce discours impatientoit beaucoup, me dit que l'on avoit tort de rien rejeter sur Mr. Courtin ; qu'il n'y avoit point de sa faute, et que ce qu'il avoit mandé étoit vrai ; mais que lui qui me parloit s'étoit trompé sur la valeur de la monnoye, et qu'il n'avoit pas bien compris la difference de celle de France et d'Angleterre : Et en disant cela, il me conduisit à la porte de sa chambre qu'il ouvrit lui même, et me répéta encore, je suis si honteux que je ne vous puis plus parler : voyés le trésorier, car il me fait connoître de si grands besoins, et une si grand nécessité dans mes affaires, que je ne crois pas que le Roi mon frere veuille me laisser dans cet embarras."

Extract of a letter from Mr. Barillon to Louis the XIVth, 4th October, 1677.—Charles tries to get the two millions of livres turned into 200,000l.

AFTER this, Sire, I thought it right to bring upon the carpet the affair of the two hundred thousand pounds sterling; and told the King of England your Majesty's surprize that Mr. Montagu should renew an affair

affair already finished: He immediately interrupted me, and said, In the name of God, do not speak to me of this affair; I am so confused about it that I cannot bear its being spoken of: Go to the treasurer, and do as you and he shall understand the matter; as to myself, I am driven to despair whenever it is mentioned to me. I answered, But, Sire, your Majesty very well knows that sending me to the treasurer, is embarrassing the affair afresh, for the treasurer will not give it up: He lately made a difference about the hundred thousand crowns which had been paid; and as he saw your Majesty had condemned that pretension, he now forms a new difficulty: Even Mr. Courtin, whom your Majesty would not wish to hurt with the King his master, finds himself involved in this matter. It has been said, he did not rightly comprehend what passed between your Majesty and him, and that he was to blame in representing an affair as finished, on which you had only spoken some civil words. The King of England, whose patience was at an end with this discourse, said, they were to blame who cast reflections on Mr. Courtin; that it was not his fault, and that what he had written was true; but that himself who spoke to me was deceived in the value of the money, and that he had not comprehended right the difference between that of France and England: In saying this he conducted me to the door of the chamber, which he opened himself, and again repeated, I am so ashamed that I cannot speak any more to you: go see the treasurer, for he has made known to me such large wants, and so great a necessity in my affairs, that I cannot believe the King my brother will leave me in this embarrassment.

The pension stipulated in this bargain was regularly In the *Depos.* paid: Charles was sometimes premature in his demands: Barillon, even before the dispute about the 200,000*l.* was ended, writes thus to his court, on the 20th September, 1677.—“*Le Sieur Chiffinch est fort*

fort soigneux de me rendre des visites ; et les premières fonctions de l'ambassade ont été de signer des ordres pour payer les lettres de change.—“ Mr. Chiffinch is very careful to pay me visits ; and the first functions of my embassy have been to sign orders for paying the bills of exchange.”

In the Depot.

During this period Courtin, in a letter to his court, 28th January, 1677, describes the sentiments of the King and his brother, and of the nation, thus. “ Je crois pouvoir répondre à votre Majesté, qu'il n'y a pas un des ses sujets qui lui souhaite un plus heureux succès dans tous ses entreprises que ces deux Princes font. Mais il est vrai aussi, que vous ne pouvez conter que sur ces deux amis dans tout l'Angleterre.—“ I can answer for it to your Majesty, that there are none of your own subjects who wish you better success in all your undertakings than these two princes do. But it is also true, that you cannot count upon any except these two friends in all England.”

In the Depot.

And in another letter, of date 21st June 1677, he writes, that Charles had given him a note of the terms on which he thought peace should be made ; adding,—“ Qu'il ne veut pas néanmoins rien proposer, sans savoir préalablement les intentions de votre Majesté.”—“ That nevertheless he does not incline to propose any thing, without knowing previously the intentions of your Majesty.”—And that Charles concluded with asking 200,000*l.* for himself for the ensuing year.

At an after period the Prince of Orange came to the knowledge of these intrigues of the English and French courts against him ; for in his box I found a relation of them, dated January, 1686-7, by Blancard, secretary
to

to Rouvigny, the same secretary whom Rouvigny mentions in the above letter of 27th February, 1676, to have been sent over by him to France with the secret treaty written in King Charles's hand.

Extract from the memorial of Blancard, secretary to Rouvigny.—Gives a relation of the secret intrigues of the French and English courts.

“ **I**L y a plus de vingt ans qu'en qualité de secretaire de Mr. le Marquis de Rouvigny, j'ai fait avec lui plusieurs voyages de France en Angleterre, et que j'ai eu connoissance d'un grand nombre d'affaires fort secrets entre les deux Rois, dont il n'est pas necessaire que j'en marque la detail. Je me renfermerai seulement à deux ou trois choses considerables, que je dirai même succinctement, dans la vue de servir les Protestants en general, qui auront à traiter avec le Roi d'Angleterre, ou avec le Roi de France ; nommement les Etats Généraux des Provinces Unies, et Mr. le Prince d'Orange, contre lesquels on a toujours agi depuis la rupture de la Triple Alliance en 1670 et en 1672.

Lorsqu'on negotioit la paix a Cologne et a Nimegue, et que le Roi d'Angleterre en étoit le mediateur, le Roi de France trouva le moyen de le gagner par argent, et ils firent ensemble un traité secret en 1676, tout à fait avantageux à la France, qui étoit par là entierement assuré de lui, et même de son parlement, par un engagement de prorogation, ou de cassation. Ce qu'il y eut de singulier en ce traité secret, et qui est peut être sans exemple, c'est qu'il se fit sans l'entremise d'ambassadeurs ni de commissaires, et sans ratification, parceque les deux Rois agirent seuls comme s'ils s'étoient rencontrés ensemble. La raison de cela fût, que les ministres d'état du Roi d'Angleterre non plus que M. le duc d'York, ne voulurent point qu'il parut qu'ils en eussent connoissance, jusques-là qu' aucuns d'eux ne trouva point à propos de preter sa main pour ecrire les articles du traité, apprehendant d'être punis si le parlement

ment en avoit connoissance ; de sorte qu'il falut de necessité que le Roi d'Angleterre lui-même ecrivit un assez long traité, tout de sa main. Je le portay aussi à la cour de France. Mr. de Louvoy et Mr. de Pomponne, dès qu'ils me virent me demanderent si je portois le traité ; je leurs dis qu'ouy, et même escrit de la main du Roi d'Angleterre, au deffault de ses ministres ; ce qu'ils ne pouvoient croire jusques à ce que je le leur montrai. Ils furent incontinent avec joye porter le traité avec les circonstances au Roy de France, qui devoit dans les regles ecrire aussi de sa propre main un autre originale du même traité pour le Roy d'Angleterre ; mais pour s'exempter de cette peine, on feignit une petite indisposition, et que j'étois fort pressé de partir : et ainsi le Roy de France se contenta de signer la traité, escrit d'une autre main, de quoy il falut que le Roy d'Angleterre se contentat par les raisons qu'on lui allegua. Il fût d'autant plus facile de les lui faire trouver bonnes, qu'il toucha bientôt après de l'argent environ quatre cent mille écus ; à mesure qu'on le payoit il faisoit quittance signée de sa main, dont il y en a décrites de la mienne ; et ses ministres n'en avoient point de connoissance, seulement Mr. Chiffins, son valet de chambre et confident, chez qui on faisoit porter l'argent, ou avec qui j'allois le faire recevoir chez des marchands.

Quoyque les deux Roys fussent ainsi parfaitement liés secrètement, ils estoient convenus qu'ils agiroient d'une maniere qui ne marqueroit aucune intelligence, parceque cela auroit empêché la paix generale qu'on negotioit, et que la France souhaitoit ardemment depuis l'année 1674, que le parlement d'Angleterre força son Roy de faire la paix avec la Hollande. Il vouloit aussi l'obliger à se déclarer contre le Roy de France, en lui faisant dire en secret, qu'on luy donneroît plus d'argent qu'il n'en tiroit de luy, et qu'on le mettroit en état d'avoir Dunquerque sans rendre les cinq ou six millions, qu'il avoit touché en la vendant. On lui offroit en même tems deux puissantes armées, par mer et par terre, pour faire descente ; mais on trouva le moyen d'empêcher

cher qu'il n'ecoutat rien de ce coté là ; et il ecrivit au Roy de France, et le dit à son ministre, qu'il avoit fait une lacheté en l'abandonnant, mais qu'il n'en feroit point deux en se declarant contre luy.

Lorsque les deux Roys s'unirent ensemble pour declarer la guerre à la Hollande, ils avoient comptés qu'ils ruineroient la Republique dans une campagne : et qu'ils y donneroient un coup si mortel à la religion protestante, qu'en suite ils l'abatroient par toute l'Europe. C'étoit leur principal bût, et de partager les Sept Provinces Unies, sans en faire part au Prince d'Orange, qui n'étoit pour lors considéré, et qu'on avoit dessein de bien établir ailleurs, comme du coté d'Orange, à fin que son nom et sa famille ne restassent plus vers les Pais-bas, et qu'il ne donnât jamais sujet de jalousie à la France.

Dans le tems même de cette grande union entre les deux Roys, celui de France trompoit celui d'Angleterre, car on n'avoit pas dessein de lui donner tout ce qu'on luy avoit promis lorsqu'ils partageoient par avance les Sept Provinces : on ne vouloit pas que lui, ny ses successeurs, fussent fort puissans sur les cotés d'Hollande ni de Flandres, parceque le Roy de France auroit pu trouvé quelque jour un novel embarras, dans le dessein qu'il avoit de reunir à sa couronne tous les Pais-bas Espagnoles. Tant de grands projets ayant manqué, le Roy de France et ses trois ministres en eurent un déplaisir mortel, d'autant plus que le Prince d'Orange commença d'être puissamment établie, et de faire changer la face des affaires des Hollandois. La prise de Naerden et de Bonne demonterant si fort la cour de France, même le Prince de Condé et Mr. de Turenne, que de lors on engagoit entièrement de conseils, et on prit de nouvelles mesures, comme d'abandonner Utrecht et les autres conquêtes, et de s'appliquer à la paix.

On resolut aussi à la cour de France, pour empêcher l'agrandissement du Prince d'Orange, d'obtenir du Roy d'Angleterre et du Duc d'York, qu'il ne se marrieroit pas avec la Princesse sa fille, ou du moins que ce ne seroit qu'aprez la paix. Cela fût promis si positivement, c'est

à dire, de différer le mariage, qu'il à été retardé de trois ou quatre ans ; et même pour empêcher d'y penser, Mr. de Croissy faisoit espérer en 1673, que cette Princesse pourroit épouser Mr. le Dauphin. Mr. Colman le croyoit, et le souhaitoit ardemment, et il me disoit que le Duc d'York son maître l'esperoit. Mr. de Rouvigny ne voulut pas lui desabuser, quoi qu'il sçeut que la cour de France vouloit marier le Dauphin ailleurs : et comme elle scavoit que le Duc d'York s'attendoit à cette alliance, elle s'imagina qu'il seroit capable de donner la Princesse sa fille à un Prince du sang de France. On envoya sur cela ordre à Mr. de Rouvigny de luy proposer le Prince de Conty, mais il n'eût garde d'en parler au Duc d'York, car il scavoit bien qu'il l'auroit refusé en colere, puisqu'il avoit l'esperance du Dauphin : Il manda ses raisons au Roy de France, qui aprouva qu'on n'eût pas executé son ordre, et on laissa encore le Duc d'York dans son esperance. J'avois pour lors l'honneur de luy parler quelque fois, et je fûs souvent sur le point de la desabuser, parcequ'il aimoit le Roy de France, et qu'il usoit de bonne foy avec luy, pendant qu'il en étoit trompé."

Translation.

"**I**T is above 20 years ago, since in quality of Secretary to the Marquis of Rouvigny, I went frequently with him from France to England ; and was in the knowledge of a great number of very secret affairs between the two Kings, of which it is not necessary to make a detail. I will limit myself only to two or three considerable things, which I shall tell briefly, with a view to serve the Protestants in general, who may have occasion to treat with the King of England, or the King of France, viz. the States General of the United Provinces, and the Prince of Orange, against both of whom they have continually acted since the breach of the triple alliance in the years 1670 and 1672.

When

When the peace was negotiating at Cologne and Nimeguen, and the King of England was mediator of it, the King of France found means to gain him by money; and they made a separate treaty together in 1676, altogether advantageous to France, who was thereby assured of him, and even of his parliament, by an obligation to prorogue or dissolve it. What was singular in this treaty, and which is perhaps without example, is, that it was made without the interposition of Embassadors or Commissaries, and without ratification; because the two Kings acted by themselves alone as if they had met together. The reason of this was, that the Ministers of State both of the King of England and Duke of York did not incline it should appear that they had any knowledge of it; which went so far that none of them would put their hand to write the articles of treaty, fearing to be punished if the parliament came to the knowledge of it. By which the King of England was put under the necessity of writing a pretty long treaty, all with his own hand. I carried it also to the Court of France. Monsieur Louvois and Monsieur Pomponne, when they saw me, asked me if I brought the treaty. I told them I had, and even written with the King of England's hand in place of his minister, which they could not believe till I shewed it to them. They went immediately with joy to carry the treaty with the circumstances of it to the King, who ought, according to rules, to have written with his own hand another original of the same treaty to the King of England. But to save himself, he feigned a small indisposition, and that I was in haste to depart. And thus the King of France sent the treaty written by another hand, with which the King of England was obliged to be contented, for the reasons which they gave him. It was the more easy to make him satisfied with them, that he soon after touched money, about 400,000 crowns. In proportion as the money was paid him, he gave a discharge signed with his hand, of which some are written in my hand; and his ministers

knew nothing of it, only Mr. Chiffins, his valet de chambre and confidant, to whose lodgings the money was carried, and with whom I went to the merchants houses to receive it.

Although the two Kings were thus perfectly united together in secret, it was agreed that they should act so as not to show any intelligence, because that would have hindered the general peace which was negotiating, and which France wished ardently since the year 1674, when the English parliament forced their King to make peace with Holland; the parliament wished also to oblige him to declare against the King of France, by causing him to be told in secret, that they would give him more money than he drew from him, and that they would put him in a condition to have Dunkirk without paying back the 5,000,000, or 6,000,000, which he had touched when he sold it. They offered him at the same time two powerful armies by sea and by land to make an invasion. But means were found to prevent him from listening to any thing on that side; and he wrote to the King of France, and said to his ministers that he had acted a mean part in abandoning him, but that he would not do it twice in declaring against him.

When the two Kings united to declare the war against Holland, they had counted that they would ruin the publick in one campaign, and that they would give so mortal a blow there to the protestant religion, that afterwards they could overturn it through all Europe. This was their principal view, and to divide the seven United Provinces between them, without giving a part to the Prince of Orange, who was not then considered, and whom they had a design to establish elsewhere, such as on the side of Orange, in order that his name and his family might not continue longer in the low countries, and that he might never give jealousy to France.

At the time even of this great union between the two Kings, the French King deceived the English. For there was no design to give him all that was pro-
mised

mised him when they made the division before-hand of the Seven Provinces. They did not intend that he or his successors should be powerful upon the coasts of Holland or Flanders, because the King of France might some day find a new embarrassment in the design which he had of reuniting all the Spanish Low Countries to his crown.

So many great projects having failed, the King of France and his three ministers felt a mortal vexation, and the more, that the Prince of Orange began to be powerfully established, and to change the face of the affairs of the Dutch. The taking of Naerden and of Bonne undeceiving so much the court of France, even the Prince of Conde and Monsieur de Turenne, who then engaged entirely in counsels together, they took new measures, so as to abandon Utrecht and the other conquests, and to apply themselves to peace.

They resolved also in the court, in order to hinder the aggrandizement of the Prince of Orange, to prevail with the King of England and the Duke of York not to give him the Princess Mary in marriage, or at least not till after the peace. The deferring of the marriage was promised so positively, that it was retarded for three or four years; and even to hinder their thinking of it, Monsieur de Croissy gave hopes in the year 1673, that this Princess might marry the Dauphin. Mr. Coleman believed it, and wished ardently, and told me that the Duke of York his master hoped for it. Monsieur de Rouvigny did not disabuse them, although he knew that the court of France intended to marry the Dauphin elsewhere. As that Court knew that the Duke of York expected this alliance, they imagined he might give the Princess his daughter to a Prince of the Blood of France. They sent orders upon this to Monsieur de Rouvigny to propose the Prince of Conty to him. But he did not speak of it to the Duke of York; for he knew that he would have refused it in a rage, since he had hopes of the Dauphin. He wrote his reasons to the King of France, who approved of his

not having obeyed his orders, and they left the Duke of York in his hopes. I had at that time the honour to speak to him sometimes, and I was often upon the point of disabusing him, because he loved the King of France, and kept good faith with him while he was deceived by him."

C H A P. II.

Second Period. From the Prince of Orange's marriage, in the year 1677, till the fall of lord Danby's ministry in the year 1679.

THIS period begins with a seeming friendship, and ends with a real coldness, between the Prince of Orange and the two royal Brothers. During the course of it Charles was thrice upon the eve of a war with France, yet never made it; the house of commons pressed him to make alliances which they afterwards disapproved, to enter into a war which they would not give him money to support, and to levy an army which they disbanded almost as soon as it was raised; Charles animated the powers of Europe against France, for refusing to deliver up her conquests in Flanders till satisfaction was given to Sweden, and yet immediately after made a treaty with France in support of Sweden; and a great minister, the favourite of his Prince, the friend of his country, as much as one of Charles's ministers could be, betrayed by the friend he had the most reason to trust, was thrown from the summit of power, and almost, in the same instant of time, into the solitude of a prison. These events always appeared to be impossible to be accounted for upon the common principles of human actions. But the very unexpected discoveries which I made last summer at Versailles, in the dispatches of the French ambassadors who were in England during this period, will account for all these seeming inconsistencies. French intrigue and money is the key to them all.

The marriage of the duke of York's daughter to the Prince of Orange, directed by King Charles against the will of her father, and without any previous intimation of the intention to France, was the operation, in a manner, of a minute. The surprise of France upon it, and the views of Charles in it, are related in the following dispatch, written a few days before the marriage.

Extrait de la lettre de Mr. de Barillon au Roi, 1 Novembre, 1677.

Sire,

“ **I**L m'est revenu de beaucoup d'endroits depuis In the Depot.
deux jours, que le mariage de Mr. le Prince d'Orange et de mademoiselle la Princesse Marie se traitoit, et qu'il étoit fort avancé. Cela m'a obligé d'en parler à Mr. le duc de York, que j'ai trouvé fort différent de ce qu'il m'avoit parû sur cette affaire, m'ayant dit positivement qu'il n'y songeroit qu'après la conclusion de la paix ; mais ayant hier il me parla bien moins nettement, et me dit que le Roi son frere y étoit fort porté, qu'il me conseilloit de lui en parler (jusques là il ne me l'avoit pas permis.) Je lui dis sur cela tout ce que je crûs propre à le détourner de précipiter une affaire de cette nature. Je vis bien par ce qu'il me dit, qu'elle étoit fort avancée, et j'allai chez madame la duchesse de Portsmouth à dessein d'en parler au Roi d'Angleterre, mais il ne m'en donna pas le tems, et dès que j'arrivai, il me mena dans un cabinet, et me dit, je veux vous parler d'une chose qui se passe ici, pour en rendre compte au Roi votre maitre ; c'est sur le mariage de Mr. le Prince d'Orange avec ma nièce la Princesse Marie. Je le juge très utile pour mes intérêts, et je croi en tirer des avantages présens très considérables, et qui le feront encore d'avantage pour l'avenir. Cette alliance fera cesser les soupçons que mes sujets ont pris, que la liaison que je conserve avec la France, n'ait pour fondement qu'un changement dans la religion. C'est la conduite de mon frere le duc d'York, qui a donné

lieu à tous ces soupçons. Toute la jalousie et l'empor-
tement qu'on a en ce pays-ci contre les prospérités de
la France, viennent de ce qu'il a fait. Une preuve de
cela c'est qu'en la première guerre de 1667, on voyoit
ici avec indifférence toutes les conquêtes qui furent
faites en Flandres, et on s'en soucioit fort peu ; mais
depuis que Mr. le duc d'York a fait profession de la re-
ligion Catholique, toute l'Angleterre s'est émue, et est
entrée dans une appréhension que je n'eusse d'autres
desseins, et que je ne prisse des mesures pour le change-
ment du gouvernement et de la religion de mon pays.
Voilà le fond contre lequel il faut me garantir, et je vous
assûre, que j'ai besoin de tout pour résister aux efforts
continuels de tous les Anglois ; car enfin je suis seul de
mon parti, au moins il n'y a que mon frere. Je suis
assûré que le mariage du Prince d'Orange et de ma nièce,
dissipera une partie de ces soupçons, et servira infiniment
à faire voir, que je n'ai aucun dessein qui ne soit conforme
aux loix d'Angleterre, et à la religion qui y est établie.
Cela détruit les cabales qu'on pourroit faire, et met
mon neveu dans mes intérêts. Je confonds par là les espé-
rances de ceux qui cherchoient un prétexte pour s'élever
contre moi, et qui auroient essayé de mettre le Prince
d'Orange de leur parti, en lui faisant concevoir des pré-
tentions qu'il n'appuyera présentement sur d'autres fon-
demens que sur mon amitié, et dans un attachement vé-
ritable à mes intérêts."

Translation.

*Extract of a letter from Mr. de Barillon to Louis the
XIVth, 1st Nov. 1677.—His surprise at the Prince
of Orange's marriage.—Charles's reasons for it.*

SIRE,

"I HAVE been informed, from several quarters,
within these two days, that the Prince of
Orange's marriage with the Princess Mary is in treaty,
and even far advanced. This obliged me to speak of
it to the Duke of York, whom I found very different
from

from what he had appeared upon this affair, having formerly positively told me that he would not think of it till after the conclusion of the peace; but the day before yesterday he spoke to me less clearly, and said the King his brother was very much bent upon it, and that he advised me to speak to him upon the subject (till now he never would permit me.) I said all to him, I thought proper, to dissuade him from precipitating an affair of this nature. I saw plainly, by what he said to me, that it was far advanced; and I went to the dutchess of Portsmouth's with a design to speak to the King of England of it, but he would not give me time, for as soon as I got there he took me into a closet, and said, I wish to talk to you of an affair which is going on here, that you may give an account of it to the King your master: It is the marriage of the Prince of Orange with my niece the Princess Mary. I judge it very necessary for my interests, and I believe I shall draw considerable advantages from it now, and greater hereafter. This alliance will quiet the suspicions which my subjects have, that the alliance I preserve with France, hath no other foundation than a change of religion. It is my brother, the Duke of York's conduct, that has given rise to all these suspicions. All the jealousy and passion which people have in this country against the prosperities of France, comes from the duke's declaring his religion. In the first war of 1667, they looked here upon all the conquests that were made in Flanders with indifference, and cared little about them; but since the duke of York professed the Catholic religion, all England has been in motion, and apprehensive that I have other designs, and am taking measure for changing the government and religion of my country. This is the rock against which I must guard myself, and I assure you I need every thing to enable me to resist the continual efforts of the whole English nation; for, in fine, I am the only one of my party, except it be my brother. I am assured that the Prince of Orange's marriage with my niece will dissipate

pate a part of these suspicions, and infinitely serve to shew that I have no design which is not conformable to the established laws and religion of England. It will destroy the cabals that might be made, and put my nephew in my interest. I confound thereby the hopes of those who only seek a pretence to rise against me, and who would endeavour to get the Prince of Orange on their side, by making him entertain pretensions, which now he will rest on no other foundation than my friendship, and a true attachment to my interests."

The marriage was immediately followed by the embassy of Lord Duras concerted with the Prince, which threatened France with war if she did not accept of peace on the terms which Lord Duras carried, and by a demand upon the French court to send back the British troops in the French service.

Yet even in these measures Charles endeavoured to keep terms with France : he issued a proclamation for proroguing the parliament to April, 1678, as by his late secret treaty with Louis he had promised to do : He made an apology in private to Barillon for Duras's embassy, as appears by Barillon's letter to his court of 16 December, 1677, in the *Depot*. He permitted Lord Duras to treat, instead of persisting in the original order for him to return in two days if his message was not complied with. He issued no proclamation to recall the British troops. And Barillon writes on the 3d of February, 1677-8, that Charles told him he would not recall those troops in a haste, and that he intended no war.

In the *Depot*.

Louis the XIVth, however, saw the consequences of the Prince of Orange's marriage. He stopped the pension provided for Charles by the late treaty, pretending to indemnify him, by offering him certain towns in Flanders if he would not interfere in the war, gave a
flat

flat refusal to the terms of peace brought by Lord Duras, and prepared to send his troops into Flanders.

Barillon, 27th December, 1677, writes thus to Louis *In the Depot.* the XIVth:—"Je me serviray d'offres avantageux, pour adoucir le refus de continuer le payement des subsides. Je crains bien que cela ne repare pas l'aigreur qu'une telle déclaration peut produire."—"I shall make use of the advantageous offers to soften the refusal of continuing the payment of the subsidies. I am afraid this will not make reparation for the anger which such a declaration will produce." And on the 30th December, 1677, he writes:—"J'ai fait des offres générales sur l'acquisition de quelques places de Flandre par la Roy d'Angleterre, si la paix ne se faisoit point."—"I have made general offers of the King of England's getting some places in Flanders, if peace is not made."

This stop in the subsidy explains the cause of an extraordinary measure taken by Charles, when at this time he revoked the proclamation which had put off the meeting of parliament till April, 1678, and he now ordered it to meet immediately. It explains too the cause of the offensive and defensive treaty which at this time he hastily made up with the Dutch.

The Duke of York saw the fatal consequence to himself in these approaches to a rupture between Charles and Louis.

Barillon writes on the 24th January, 1678, that the Duke of York adjured him with tears in his eyes, to prevail on Louis to stop the march of his troops into Flanders. *In the Depot.*

France aimed yet a more important blow against Charles for having brought about the Prince of Orange's marriage. For she entered into the most dangerous intrigues with the popular party in parliament against him.

As

As the intrigues of France in an English parliament are very new matter in the history of English party, I shall relate the progress of them in the order of time as I found it in the *Depot* at Versailles.

It has been mentioned in the last chapter, that whilst Louis was in friendship with Charles in the year 1677, he furnished him with money to bribe his own subjects in parliament. In the dispatches of that year, there are also traces of Monsieur Courtin's own connections (independent of the King's) with some members of parliament, to attach them to the interests of Charles and France; and on the 15th July, 1677, there are in one of Courtin's accounts presents stated as given by him to persons in England, the particulars of which shall be given in the next chapter.

Upon the marriage of the prince of Orange, and the side which Charles immediately after seemed to take against France, the court of France and a great part of the popular party in parliament in England came to have the same political objects. It was the interest of Louis to prevent an union between Charles and the Prince of Orange, to get 20,000 English troops disbanded which had been raised against him to the astonishment of Europe in the short space of six weeks, to have a parliament dissolved which had repeatedly addressed Charles for a war against him, and to overturn a minister who had of late continually urged his master to the same war. For this last Vide Lord Danby's letters. The popular party again dreaded, in the strength which that union and that army would confer upon their Sovereign, the loss of their own liberties; they hoped in a new parliament chosen in a popular ferment to gain new strength to themselves; and they wished to pull down Lord Danby for the same reason for which every opposition wishes to pull down every minister.

These circumstances of accident led the way to a connexion between the popular and the French interests.

On

On the 13th November, 1677, Barrillon, who had been sent Ambassador to England only two months before, writes to his own court, that some of the members of parliament in opposition to the court seemed desirous of forming connexions with France, and were making advances to him, but that he stands off till he should see what steps Charles would take with regard to France. He adds, “Jusqu’ à présent je n’ay pas tellement rebuté ce qu’on m’a dit de la part des caballes opposés à la cour, que je ne suis en état d’entrer avec eux quand il le foudra.—Je ne donneray point sujet à sa Majesté Britannique de se plaindre que ceux qui ont l’honneur de servir votré Majesté avoient la même conduite à son egard qu’ont eu les ministres de alliez.” —“I have not hitherto given so little encouragement to what has been said to me on the part of the cabals in opposition to the court, as to put it out of my power to enter into measures with them whenever I please. I will not give his Britannick Majesty cause to complain that those who have the honour to serve your Majesty observed the same conduct with regard to him which the ministers of the allies have done.”

On the 24th January, 1677-8, he writes, that the advances had been renewed to him, that he was inclined to form a connexion between France and the popular party, but that he could not do it without orders. He says, that the use which Charles’s opposers in parliament are to make of his recalling the British troops from France, is to impute it to a design of arming these troops to destroy the liberties of England.

These letters probably suggested to the court of France the idea of sending over Mons. Rouvigny, who having been longer in England than Barillon had been, could know persons better than him, with a great sum of money.

ney to be distributed among the popular party in the English parliament.

In Lord Danby's letters (which are published) there are several letters in the beginning of the year 1677-8, from Mr. Montagu, Ambassador at Paris, to Lord Danby, informing him, that Rouvigny was to go over with money upon that errand, and to act in concert with Lord Russel : and that Barillon was intriguing with the Duke of Buckingham and others of the popular party in England.

The truth of this information is confirmed by the following memorial of Barillon. An English reader will perhaps start at a paper being offered to his eyes, which lays open an intrigue between the virtuous Lord Russel and the court of France ; yet it will give him some relief to find amidst the imprudence of such an intrigue the man of honour appearing.

Memoire de Monsr. Barillon, du 14 Mars, 1678.

In the Depot.

“ **M**R. de Rouvigny a vû milord Roussel et milord Hollis, qui ont été tous deux fort satisfaits de l'assurance qu'il leur a donnée, que le Roi est bien convaincu qu'il n'est point de son intérêt de rendre le Roi d'Angleterre maître absolu dans son royaume, et que sa Majesté vouloit travailler à la dissolution de ce parlement dès que le tems y paroîtroit favorable : Milord Roussel lui a dit, qu'il engageroit milord Shafbery dans cette affaire, et que ce seroit le seul homme à qui il en parleroit clairement ; et qu'ils travailleroient sous main, à empêcher qu'on augmentât la somme qui a été offerte pour faire la guerre, et qu'ils feroient ajouter à l'offre million de livres sterlings, des conditions si désagréables pour le Roi d'Angleterre, qu'ils espéroient qu'il aimeroit mieux se réunir avec la France, que d'y consentir. Il témoigna à Mr. de Rouvigny, qu'il soupçonnoit que sa Majesté trouvoit bon que le Roi d'Angleterre lui déclarât la guerre pour avoir de l'argent, avec promesse que dès qu'il en seroit le maître, il conclurroit la paix.

Mr.

Mr. de Rouvigny lui dit, que pour lui faire voir le contraire bien clairement, j'étois prêt à répandre une somme considérable dans le parlement, pour l'obliger à refuser absolument de l'argent pour la guerre, et le sollicita de lui nommer des gens qu'on pût gagner. Milord Roussel répondit, qu'il seroit bien fâché d'avoir commerce avec des gens capables d'être gagnés par de l'argent : mais il lui parût forte aisé d'être assuré par cette proposition, qu'il n'y a entre votre Majesté et le Roi d'Angleterre nulle intelligence qui puisse préjudicier à leur gouvernement : il dit à Mr. de Rouvigny, que lui et tous ses amis ne souhai-toient autre chose que la cassation du parlement ; qu'ils savoient qu'elle ne pouvoit venir que du côté de la France ; que puisqu'il les assûroit que c'étoit le dessein de sa Majesté d'y travailler, ils se voyoient obligé de se bien fier en lui, et faire tout leur possible pour obliger le Roi d'Angleterre à rechercher encore une fois son amitié, et mettre par ce moyen sa Majesté en état de contribuer à leur satisfaction : il l'assûra que ce seroit là le sentiment de milord Shafbery, qui doit voir un de ces jours Mr. de Rouvigny chez milord Roussel. Milord Hollis a paru plus retenu que milord Roussel. Il témoigne comme lui être bien aise des bons sentimens où est sa Majesté ; mais il trouve que la paix est si difficile à faire, qu'il n'espere pas que le Roi soit de longtems en état de les rendre contents en faisant rompre ce parlement. Mr. de Rouvigny l'a trouvé si aigri contre la cour et les ministres, qu'il n'a pas osé lui rien dire de l'envie que le Roi d'Angleterre témoigne avoir de faire la paix, de peur qu'il ne fit agir sa cabale pour la guerre, par l'opposition que ce milord a contre tous les desseins de la cour. Et il croit qu'il ne lui a fait des difficultés sur la paix, qu'a fin de l'engager à lui dire ce que le Roi d'Angleterre avoit dit sur cela. Il ne croit pas qu'on accuse le grand trésorier dans la chambre basse ; mais milord Roussel a dit à Mr. de Rouvigny, qu'il avoit pris résolution de soutenir l'affaire contre le trésorier, et même d'attaquer Mr. le duc d'York et tous les Catholiques.

tholiques. La chambre haute s'opposera vraisemblablement là dessus à la basse, parceque les seigneurs prétendent qu'on ne peut exclurre aucun d'entre eux de la dite chambre haute, sans lui faire son procès dans les formes. Le dessein du parlement ne peut être trop secret, parceque quoique ce soit une chose souhaitée de toute l'Angleterre, si ceux qui en sont à présent les membres savoient qu'on y songeât, ils feroient tout ce que le Roi d'Angleterre pourroit souhaiter pour l'empêcher de'executer ce dessein.

Translation.

Barillon's memorial of the 14th March 1678.—Rouvigny's intercourse with lord Ruffel and lord Hollis.—Honour of the former.

“ **M**R. de Rouvigny has seen lord Ruffel and lord Hollis, who were fully satisfied with the assurance he gave them, that the King (i. e. of France) is convinced it is not his interest to make the King of England absolute master in his kingdom ; and that his Majesty (i. e. of France) would contribute his endeavours to bring about the dissolution of this parliament, as soon as the time should appear favourable : Lord Ruffel told him he would engage lord Shaftesbury in this affair, and that he should be the only man to whom he would speak of it explicitly ; and that they would work under hand to hinder an augmentation of the sum which has been offered for carrying on the war ; and would cause to be added to the offer of the million sterling, such disagreeable conditions to the King of England, as they hoped would rather make him wish to re-unite himself with France than to consent to them. He gave Mr. de Rouvigny to understand, that he suspected your Majesty approved of the King of England's declaring war against you, only to give him an opportunity of obtaining money, and under a promise that as soon as he had got the money, he would conclude

clude a peace. Mr. de Rouvigny told him, that to shew him clearly the contrary, I was ready to distribute a considerable sum in the parliament to prevail with it to refuse any money for the war, and solicited him to name the persons who might be gained. Lord Russel replied, that he should be very sorry to have any commerce with persons capable of being gained by money: but he appeared pleased to see by this proposal that there is no private understanding between your Majesty and the King of England, to hurt their constitution: He told Mr. de Rouvigny that he and all his friends wanted nothing further than the dissolution of parliament; that they knew it could only come from the help of France; that since he assured them it was the design of your Majesty to assist in it, they would trust him, and would do all in their power to oblige the King of England to ask your friendship once more, and by this means put your Majesty in a state to contribute to their satisfaction: This he assured him would be lord Shaftesbury's sentiments, who was one of these days to see Mr. de Rouvigny at lord Russel's. Lord Hollis appeared more reserved than lord Russel; he appears, like him, to be very glad of your Majesty's good intentions, but he thinks the peace is so difficult to be made, that he is afraid it will be a long time before your Majesty can be in a condition to give them satisfaction by getting the parliament dissolved. Mr. de Rouvigny found him so embittered against the court and the ministry, that he did not dare to say any thing to him of the desire which the king of England shews for peace, lest he should bring his cabal, from his desire to oppose all the designs of the court, to be partizans for the war. And he believes that he only started difficulties about the peace, to engage him to tell what the King of England had said upon that head. Lord Hollis does not believe they are going to accuse the high treasurer in the house of commons; but lord Russel told Mr. de Rouvigny that he had taken the resolution to support the affair against the treasurer, and even

attack the duke of York and all the Catholics. The house of lords will in all likelihood oppose the house of commons in this, because the lords pretend that no one can be excluded from the upper house, without being tried in form. The design of getting the parliament dissolved cannot be kept too secret, because, though it be a thing wished by all England, yet if those who are at present the members knew that it was thought of, they would do all the King of England could wish to hinder the execution of the design."

About this time a bill had been framed for giving the King a million for carrying on the war against France. It was impossible for the popular party to oppose this bill without betraying their connexions with France. But they endeavoured to disappoint it, by introducing many clauses into it which marked an unusual jealousy in parliament of the crown. But all these Charles submitted to. The following letter from Barillon gives an account of what passed between Rouvigny, Lord Ruffel, and Lord Hollis upon occasion of this bill.

Extrait de la lettre de Mr. de Barillon au Roi, du 24 Mars, 1678.

In the Depot.

" J'AI vû les gens avec qui j'ai commerce, et Mr. de Rouvigny a vû milord Hollis et milord Ruffel; les uns et les autres parlent dans le même sens, et disent qu'ils n'ont jamais prétendu s'opposer ouvertement à donner de l'argent au Roi d'Angleterre, que ce seroit le moyen de s'attirer la haine du peuple, et le reproche de tout ce qui pourroit arriver dans la suite; que la chambre basse avoit ajouté à cet acte des clauses si contraires aux privileges et à l'autorité de sa Majesté Britannique, qu'on avoit espéré que ce Prince ni ses ministres n'y consentiroient pas, ou que du moins ils souffriroient qu'on y formât des difficultés; mais que
l'avidité

l'avidité d'avoir de l'argent, et l'envie d'avoir des troupes sur pied, dont on croira pouvoir disposer, ont fait passer par dessus toute sorte de considération des véritables intérêts de sa Majesté Britannique ; que c'est ce qui redouble les craintes qu'on a sujet d'avoir des desseins de la cour, dont ils paroissent tous fort allarmés. Quoi qu'ils soient à cette heure persuadés que votre Majesté et le Roi d'Angleterre n'agissent que de concert, ils ne laissent pas de concevoir une grande appréhension que la guerre ne serve à les assujétir. Ils voyent le péril auquel ils sont exposés, mais ils ne connoissent point de remède qui puisse les en garantir. Cependant cette cabale ne se décourage pas absolument, et quoique le parti du grand trésorier se fortifie tous les jours, les autres ont toujours pour but d'empêcher que le parlement donne d'avantage d'argent ; ils sont résolus à rechercher tout ce qui pourra déplaire à la cour, à fin qu'elle les congédie bientôt, et que le Roi d'Angleterre n'ait point d'autre argent que ce qui pourra revenir de cette taxe, qui ne montera pas selon l'opinion commune à plus de 600 mille livres sterlings. On verra dans deux jours ce que fera la chambre basse, car la cabale opposée à la cour connoît bien la nécessité de ne point perdre de tems, et on n'oublie pas de leur en faire voir l'importance. Il y a cependant beaucoup d'apparence que le parlement donnera le reste du million de livres sterlings quia été promis, et on va travailler incessamment à achever d'en faire le fond. Je supplie votre Majesté de croire que je n'omets rien de ce qui me paroît propre à fortifier le parti opposé à la cour dans le parlement. Il n'est pas aisé de réussir quand le Roi d'Angleterre se conforme à tout ce que ses sujets lui prescrivent de plus contraire à son intérêt. Je suis persuadé que le grand trésorier croit retrouver des occasions, soit dans la paix, soit dans la guerre, de remettre l'autorité du Roi son maître en meilleur état, et qu'il aime mieux présentement se laisser entraîner au torrent." Je suis, &c.

(Signé) BARILLON.

Translation.

Extract of Mr. Barillon's letter to Louis the XIVth, of 24th March, 1678.—Further intercourse of Rouvigny with lord Ruffel and lord Hollis.—Their views.

“ I HAVE seen the persons with whom I have commerce, and Mr. de Rouvigny has seen lord Hollis and lord Ruffel: Both these and those speak the same language, and say they never pretended to oppose openly the giving of the money to the King of England; that this would be a means of drawing upon themselves the hatred of the people, and the reproach of all that might hereafter happen; that the lower house had added to this act clauses so contrary to the privileges and authority of his Britannick Majesty, that they had hoped neither the Prince nor his ministers would have permitted difficulties to be thrown in the way; but the avidity for money, and the desire of having troops on foot, which they thought they might dispose of, had made the ministers pass the act without any consideration for the true interests of his Britannick Majesty: that this redoubles their fears of the designs of the court, with which they are much alarmed: even although they are at this minute persuaded that your Majesty and the King of England act in concert, they are still under apprehension lest the war should serve only to bring them under subjection. They see the danger to which they are exposed, but don't know a remedy to save themselves from it. However this cabal is not absolutely discouraged, and though the lord high treasurer strengthens himself every day, the others have always for their aim to hinder the parliament granting any more money. They are resolved to seek for every thing that can give the court vexation, and to the end that it may soon dismiss them, and that the King of England may have no other money than what may arise from this tax, which will not amount, according to the common opinion,

to

to more than 600 thousand pounds sterling. It will be seen in two days what the house of commons will do; for the cabal opposed to the court, knows well the necessity of not losing time, and care is taken to shew them the importance of it. There is, however, much appearance that the parliament will give the rest of the million which was promised, and they are working continually to find out a fund for it. I beg your Majesty to believe that I omit nothing which appears to me to be proper to fortify the party that is opposed to the court in parliament. It is not easy to succeed when the King of England conforms himself to all that his subjects prescribe to him, even though the most contrary to his interest. I am persuaded the high treasurer believes he may find opportunities, either in peace or war, to put the authority of the King his master on a better foot, and that at present he thinks it best to let himself be driven with the torrent.

I am, &c. BARILLON.

The following letter exhibits a cruel picture of the effects of party in England, when confidence is once lost between the Prince and the people.

Extrait de la lettre de Mons. de Barillon au Roi, du 11 Avril, 1678.

“**L** E S chefs des cabales, c'est à dire Mr. de Bour- In the *Dépot*.
 quingham, milord Scaferi, milord Roussel; et
 milord Hollis, m'ont fait entendre qu'il n'y a rien de si
 dangereux pour eux, que de laisser plus longtems les
 affaires dans l'incertitude où elles sont; que les levées
 se continuent, et que quand il y en aura un nombre
 suffisant sur pied, la cour entreprendra tout ce qu'elle
 jugera convenable à ses intérêts; qu'en arrêtant les
 principaux, on mettra les autres dans l'impuissance de
 résister et de s'opposer à ce que la cour voudra entre-
 prendre; que quand le dedans de l'Angleterre sera sou-
 mis,

mis, on fera la guerre au dehors avec toute forte de facilités ; et que toute la nation étant d'accord, les secours d'hommes et d'argent pour la Flandre seront fort considérables ; que rien n'est plus propre pour empêcher que cela n'arrive, que de presser la déclaration de la guerre, et obliger sa Majesté Britannique à se déterminer auparavant que toutes les mesures soient prises pour la soutenir ; que votre Majesté pourroit s'acquérir un grand mérite auprès de toute la nation, si elle témoignoît que l'état d'incertitude ne lui convient point, et qu'elle desiré savoir si elle doit avoir la paix ou la guerre. Que selon les apparences, cette démarche de votre Majesté ne fera pas que sa Majesté Britannique déclare la guerre, si elle ne l'a pas résolu ; et que ceux avec qui cela sera concerté connoîtront, et feront connoître aux gens de leur parti, que votre Majesté non seulement n'a point de concert avec le Roi d'Angleterre pour les opprimer, mais qu'elle ne veut pas souffrir que sous prétexte d'une guerre imaginaire, on trouve le moyen de les assujétir. Je n'ai point combattu ce raisonnement, et j'ai été obligé d'entrer en quelque façon dans les sentimens du Duc de Bouquingham, et de lui faire paroître, que je ne trouvois pas impossible que votre Majesté m'ordonnât de parler comme il souhaite. Milord Roussel a proposé la même chose à Mr. Rouvigny. Je croi, Sire, que leur principal motif en cela est, de s'éclaircir entierement d'une soupçon qui reste encore à quelques gens, que votre Majesté et le Roi d'Angleterre agissent de concert. Ils ont encore pour but de nécessiter la cour à déclarer la guerre, et croient par là se mettre à couvert du peril que l'armée qui se leve ne soit employée pour changer le gouvernement en Angleterre. Ils ont aussi en vue de s'acquérir à l'avenir la protection de votre Majesté si on les attaque ; mais je ne les trouve pas encore disposés à prendre des engagements formels et présens, si ce n'est Mr. le Duc de Boukingham qui est plus hardi que les autres, et qui croit que leur véritable sûreté dépend de ce que votre Majesté voudroit faire en leur faveur. Si j'ose expli-
quer

quer mon sentiment à votre Majesté, je ne trouverois pas d'inconvenient de dire quelque chose de sa part à sa Majesté Britannique, qui pût marquer qu'elle ne s'attend pas à demeurer longtems dans l'incertitude de la paix ou de la guerre. Il est aisé d'adoucir les termes en lui parlant, et de ne le pas forcer à se déclarer malgré lui. Cependant on pourroit en dire assez pour contenter ceux, qui craignent que la cour n'ait point d'autre dessein que de les opprimer. Je dois rendre compte à votre Majesté que tous ces chefs de cabale ne feront point opposés à la paix, quand ils croiront que votre Majesté ne prendra point d'engagement contre leur liberté. C'est sur quoi je les rassûre autant que je puis, et les plus sensés d'entr'eux jugent bien que l'intérêt de la France n'est pas qu'il y ait en Angleterre un Roi maître absolu, et qui puisse disposer à son gré de toute la puissance de la nation."

Translation.

Extract of a letter from Monsr. Barillon. to Louis the XIVth, of the 11th April, 1678.——Dangerous projects of the heads of the popular party acting in concert with France.

THE heads of the cabal, to wit, the Duke of Buckingham, Lord Shaftesbury, Lord Russel, and Lord Hollis, have given me to understand that there is nothing so dangerous for them as to leave matters any longer in their present uncertainty; that the levies are going on, and when there is a sufficient number on foot, the court will attempt every thing that is agreeable to its interest; that by arresting the principal persons, they will put it out of the power of the others to resist, or oppose themselves to the designs of the court; and when England shall be subjected at home, the court will carry on a foreign war with the greater facility, and the whole nation being in one way of thinking, the supplies

of men and money for Flanders will be great ; that nothing is more proper to prevent this, than to press the declaration of war, and oblige his Britannick Majesty to determine before measures are taken to support it. That your Majesty might acquire merit with the whole nation, if you declared that this state of uncertainty is not agreeable to you, and that you desire to know whether you are to have peace or war : that in all appearance this step will not oblige his Britannick Majesty to declare war if he has not resolved upon it already ; and those with whom it is concerted, will by this means know, and make known to their party, that your Majesty not only has no connection with the King of England to oppress them, but that you will not suffer him under the pretence of an imaginary war to find means to bring them into subjection. I did not controvert this way of reasoning, and have been in some degree obliged to enter into the sentiments of the Duke of Buckingham, and to pretend to him that I did not think it impossible your Majesty might order me to speak as he wished. Lord Ruffel proposed the same thing to Mr. de Rouvigny. I believe, Sire, that their chief motive in this is, to clear up a suspicion which still remains with some of them, that your Majesty and the King of England act in concert. Another end they aim at is, to force the court to declare war, and thereby shelter themselves from the danger, lest the army, which is now raising, should be employed to change the form of government in England. They have also a view of procuring for the future your Majesty's protection if they are attacked. But I don't yet find them disposed to enter into formal and immediate engagements, except the Duke of Buckingham, who is more bold than the others, and who believes their real safety depends on what your Majesty will do in their favour. If I durst express my thoughts to your Majesty, I should think it would not be amiss to say something on your part to his Britannick Majesty, that might shew him you don't intend

intend to remain long in an uncertainty as to peace or war. It is easy to soften the language in speaking to him, and not force him to declare himself against his inclination ; however, enough might be said to satisfy those who are under apprehensions that the court only intends their oppression. I ought to inform your Majesty that all these leaders of party will not be averse to peace, if they believe that your Majesty will enter into no engagements against their liberty ; on this head I give them all the assurances I can ; and the most sensible among them know well it is not the interest of France that a King of England should be absolute master, and be able to dispose according to his will of all the power of the nation."

Some months after this, the intrigue between the popular party and Monsr. de Rouvigny and Monsr. Barillon, took a more regular form : for a considerable number of that party sent a messenger to France, to convert that connexion of interests which had hitherto been carried on only between them and these two French emissaries, into a connexion of interests directly with the French court itself. Barillon in the following letter gave intimation to the French minister of the application which was soon to be made to him in the name of that party.

Extrait de la lettre de Mr. Barillon au Ministre, du 10 Octobre, 1678.

LA nouvelle d'une conspiration contre la personne *In the Depot.* du Roi d'Angleterre auroit bien mérité d'être mandée par un courrier exprès, mais j'ai eu, Monsieur, encore une autre raison. J'ai connu ici depuis quelque tems le Sieur Falaiseau qui a été à Mr. de Montaigu pendant qu'il a été Ambassadeur en France ; il connoît beaucoup de gens et a fait assez d'habitudes en Angleterre. J'ai crû pouvoir m'ouvrir à lui, et lui faire entendre

tendre qu'il me feroit plaisir de ménager les esprits de ceux qu'il trouveroit en disposition de prendre des liaisons avec la France. Il m'est venu trouver depuis deux jours, et m'a dit qu'il pouvoit me répondre de beaucoup de personnes très considérables par leur naissance et par leurs biens ; que les principaux d'entr'eux sont membres du parlement, et qu'ils sont tous dans le dessein de s'opposer fortement au dessein que le Roi d'Angleterre pourroit avoir de faire subsister l'armée, ou pour faire la guerre, ou pour faire changer le gouvernement. Ils offrent de prendre pour cela toutes les mesures possibles avec moi ; mais auparavant ils desireroient d'avoir une parole positive du Roi de n'être jamais découverts, et qu'on leur tiendra ce qu'on leur aura promis. Pour cela ils veulent que le Sieur Falaiseau fasse un voyage en France ; qu'il reçoive par vous, Monsieur, la parole de sa Majesté ; et qu'en suite vous m'envoyés les ordres du Roi pour traiter avec eux, et pour entrer dans le détail de leurs propositions. J'ai dit d'abord que j'avois des ordres suffisans, mais ils le sont attachés à voir encore une assurance positive par vous, et n'ont point voulu se nommer auparavant. J'ai pourtant raison de croire que ces sont des gens de considération, ainsi je n'ai pas crû devoir empêcher le Sieur Falaiseau de vous aller trouver dans quelques jours. Il vous rendra un billet de ma part, et vous expliquera sa mission. Il arrivera à peu près dans le tems que j'espere envoyer au Roi, le détail le plus exact que je pourrai, de l'état de ce pays ci. Le Sieur Falaiseau est de la religion prétendue réformée ; il est fils d'un avocat de Paris, de bonne famille et assez riche ; il a été avec Mr. Dangeau chez Mr. l'Electeur Palatin, et a fait le voyage de Modene, et en suite celui d'Angleterre avec lui. On pourroit craindre qu'il ne dit à Mr. de Montaignu ce qui se passe ; mais les gens pour qui il parle se fient à lui, et ces sortes d'intrigues ne peuvent se faire sans hazarder quelque chose.

Extract of a letter from Mr. Barillon to the Minister, 10th October, 1678.——The popular party send a messenger to France to treat with the French court.

THE news of a conspiracy against the King of England's person would have deserved well to be sent by an express courier, but I had, Sir, yet another reason. I have for some time known here the Sieur Falaiseau, who was with Mr. Montagu whilst he was ambassador in France; he knows many people, and has made connexions enough in England. I thought I might open myself to him, and let him know that he would do me a pleasure to manage the spirits of those he should find in a disposition to make measures with France. Within these two days he came to me, and told me he could answer to me for many very considerable persons, on account both of their birth and fortunes; that the principal amongst them are members of parliament, and all in the same mind of opposing strongly any designs the King of England might have to keep up the army, either with a view to make war, or to change the government. They offer to take all possible measures with me for these ends; but they desire first to have the King's positive word that they shall never be discovered, and that what shall be promised them shall be observed. To this purpose they are desirous that the Sieur Falaiseau should make a journey into France; that by you, Sir, they may receive his Majesty's word; and that afterwards you may send me the King's orders to treat with them, and enter into the detail of their proposals. I said directly, I had sufficient orders; but they are bent upon having a positive assurance from you, and will not name themselves till then. I have, however, reason to believe they are of consideration, and therefore thought I should not prevent the Sieur Falaiseau from going to you in a few days. He will give you a billet from me and explain his mission.

sion. He will arrive near the time when I hope to send the King the most exact detail I am able of the state of this country. The Sieur Falaifeau is of the pretended reformed religion ; son of an advocate of Paris, of good family, and tolerably rich. He was with Mr. Dangeau at the Elector Palatine's, travelled to Modena, and afterwards came to England with him. It might be feared that he would tell Mr. Montagu what passes ; but the persons of whom he speaks confide in him, and these sorts of intrigues cannot be carried on without hazarding something.

Provoked by the Princess of Orange's marriage, and probably trusting to the effects of these intrigues in England, Louis the XIVth rejected all the endeavours of Charles and the Duke of York to avoid a war with France ; and in the spring of the year 1678, marched at the head of his troops into Flanders and took Ypres and Ghent. This forced Charles to send his troops abroad ; and even the Duke of York, for a short time, appeared hearty for the war, hoping by his complaints against France to recover his popularity, and by taking the command of the army, if the war was forced on, to secure himself by a military force.

Barillon, in the following letters to Louis the XIVth, describes the state of the court of England at this time.

Extrait de la lettre de Mr. Barillon au Roi, 18 Avril, 1678.

In the *Depos.*

“ VOILA, Sire, l'état de la négociation ici. Si je m'en rapporte au bruit public, la guerre sera bientôt déclarée ; mais si j'avois à former un jugement, (ce qui est fort hazardeux en ce pays cy) je croirois que la guerre est résolue, en cas que la paix ne se puisse faire entre cy et peu de jours, et que le Roi d'Angleterre ne la déclarera pas tant qu'il lui restera quelque espérance. Le grand trésorier a pour but d'avoir de l'argent.

gent, et voudroit fort relever l'autorité de son maître. Mr. le duc d'York se croit perdu pour sa religion, si l'occasion présente ne lui sert à soumettre l'Angleterre; c'est une entreprise fort hardie, et dont le succès est fort douteux. Je crois qu'on a persuadé à ce Prince, que la guerre est plus propre pour venir à bout de son dessein que la paix. Il croit faire cesser une partie de l'animosité qu'on a contre lui en se déclarant avec chaleur contre la France. Cela n'appaise pas ces ennemis; il est plus appréhendé que jamais et n'est pas moins haï; son changement à l'égard de votre Majesté n'augmente pas sa réputation; plusieurs personnes croient qu'il reprendra ses premières liaisons avec la même légèreté qu'il les a quittées. Le Roi d'Angleterre balance encore à se porter à l'extrémité; son humeur répugne fort au dessein de changer le gouvernement. Il est néanmoins entraîné par Mr. le Duc d'York et par le grand trésorier; mais dans le fond il aimeroit mieux que la paix le mit en état de demeurer en repos, et rétablir ses affaires, c'est à dire un bon revenu; et je crois qu'il ne se soucie pas beaucoup d'être plus absolu qu'il est. Le Duc et le Trésorier connoissent bien à qui ils ont affaire, et craignent d'être abandonnés par le Roi d'Angleterre aux premiers obstacles considérables qu'ils trouveront au dessein de relever l'autorité royale en Angleterre."

Translation.

Extraët of a letter from Mr. Barillon to Louis the XIVth, 18th of April, 1678.—State of the court of England. —The Duke of York intends by the army to establish the catholic religion, and enlarge the royal authority.

"THIS, Sire, is the state of the negociation here. If I depend upon public report, war will be instantly declared; but if I was to form a judgment, (which is very hazardous in this country) I should believe the war is resolved on in case peace is not made in a few days, and that the King of England will not declare

clare it whilst there remains the least hope. The high treasurer's aim is to procure money, and he would willingly encrease his master's authority. The Duke of York believes himself lost as to his religion, if the present opportunity does not serve to bring England into subjection; 'tis a very bold enterprize, and the success very doubtful. I believe they have persuaded this Prince that a war is more proper to accomplish his design than peace. He thinks that by declaring strongly against France, he will diminish the animosity against himself. This does not appease his enemies; he is more suspected than ever, and not less hated; his change with regard to your Majesty does not add to his reputation; many persons believe he will return to his former engagements with the same lightness with which he has quitted them. The King of England still wavers upon carrying things to extremity; his humour is very repugnant to the design of changing the government. He is nevertheless drawn along by the Duke of York and the high treasurer; but at the bottom he would rather choose that peace should leave him in a condition to remain in quiet, and re-establish his affairs, that is to say, a good revenue; and I do not believe he cares much for being more absolute than he is. The Duke and the treasurer know well with whom they have to deal, and are afraid of being abandoned by the King of England on the first considerable obstacles they may meet with to the design of enlarging the royal authority in England."

There are in King William's box the following letters from the Duke of York to the Prince of Orange during this state of uncertainty between France and England.

The Duke of York to the Prince of Orange. — Mr. Hyde has got powers to finish the treaty with the Dutch. — An answer from France as to the terms of peace expected.

London, Dec. 24, 1677.

I WOULD not let this bearer Mr. Thinn go without writing to you by him, who his Majesty sends with powers and instructions to Mr. Hyde, to conclude what you have already approved of. As for Mr. Montague we had news from him of his being at St. Germain's, but then he had not entered upon his business; we expect every moment to hear from him. I need say no more, this bearer being so fully instructed to inform you of all this; and be assured that I shall always be as kind to you as you can expect.

JAMES.

The Duke of York to the Prince of Orange. — Impatient for an answer from France.

London, Jan. 3, 1677-8.

AT length this bearer, lord Ossory, has got leave to go to you, at which he is very well pleased, and will lose no tyme, and so goes to morrow morning, being not willing to stay for the express we expect from France, though we look for him every hour, but I keep Cornwall here on purpose to send you word what the expresse will bring, which will be either peace or war; and now that I have sayd this, I will not defer letting you know I do easily beleve the trouble you had for the losse of my sonne: I wish you may never have the like cause of trouble, nor know what it is to losse a sonne. I shall now say no more to you, because this bearer can inform you of all things here, as also that you shall always find me as kind to you as you can desire.

For my sonne, the Prince of Orange.

The

The Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—France having refused the terms of peace, war is preparing.

London, Jan. 8, 1677-8.

YOU will now receive an account from this bearer, my lord Ossory, of the answer his Majesty has had from France, by the which you will see we must prepare for a war, which we are doing here, with as little noise as we can, till the parliament meets, which you know is to be this day sennight, and we are hastening away as fast as possible we can, the ships designed to strengthen our Squadron in the Straights, which I hope may be ready to sail, wind and weather permitting, in ten days; and when they have joined Sir J. Narborough, he will have with him 25 saile of men of war and two fire ships, and we must encrease the number of fire-ships, so that if you encrease likewise the Squadron you are now a sending thether, we shall, I hope, be master of that sea, for all the French are, or may be, so strong there; and it will be necessary to consider what force will be necessary to be masters in these seas, and to be in a condition of giving them trouble upon their sea-coasts, which is all I shall need say to you now upon this subject: his Majesty saying he will write to you to desire you to send over somebody hither, to adjust and settle the plan of what is to be done at sea, and what number of ships will be necessary to be sett out, and their several stations; as for other things, this bearer will inform you of them, so that I shall say no more, but that you shall alway find me very kind to you.

The Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Preparations for war.

London, Jan. 15, 1677-8.

I BELIEVE this will still find you at the Hague, for by the last French letter which came yesterday, I do find

find that King was yet upon his march, though all things in a readiness for it. Some will have it that he was determined to see what temper the parliament would be in before he undertook any thing; but I hardly believe he will stay for that now, that the parliament was adjourned this day till the 28th of this month; which was done for reasons which I believe you have been informed of: in the mean time we are preparing all things here for what may happen, and are recruiting all our old companys to one hundred each; and have given out orders for the raising of 24 new companys to make lord Craven's, myne, and lord Mulgrave's regiments 20 companys apiece. I have not time to say more to you now, but to assure you you shall always find the continuance of my kindnels to you.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.——In answer to a letter from the Prince, proposing that the Duke should command the army that is to go over.——Uncertain if troops are to go.

London, Jan: 25, 1677-8.

I HAVE received just now yours by lord Ossory, and do assure you I take very kindly the proposition you make to me in it, though as yett I can say nothing to you upon it, for till we know what the parliament and Spaniards will do, we cannot make any plan how or which way to carry on the war when we enter into it; and you will see, by what Mr. Hyde has to inform you of, what little probability there is of our having any men in Flanders, since, without Ostend, we cannot send a considerable body into that country. I have not time to say more, it being now late; we having been busy all this night about preparing things for the meeting of the parliament, which is to be on Monday, and besides you will be informed of all things from others, and be assured that I shall always be as kind to you as you can desire.

The Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Complaint of the proceedings of the House of Commons, with regard to the preparations for the war.

London, Feb. 2, 1678.

BY the last post, or at least by this, you will have seen his Majesty's speech to both houses, which one would have thought would have given all satisfaction, and that the house of commons would have proceeded accordingly; but you will see by their address this day, now that his Majesty has done all they desired by their former address, how they chicane and fly off from what they have formerly said; attack the prerogative, and would impose upon his Majesty such things as cannot subsist with monarchy, and was never before pretended to by a house of commons. I am sure it will be very good news for France, and I am confident, so soon as they hear of it, they will take new measures, and attack some place in Flanders, which may be, if the house of commons had gone on vigorously in helping his Majesty with money for the carrying on of the war, they would have hardly done: but I hope that when his Majesty shall have answered their address, which he will do on Monday, that they will be ashamed of what they have done, and will yet make amends, and supply his Majesty as they ought to do, and he will put it home to them. I believe you will be very impatient for the next letters from hence, for by Tuesday's night one shall see what they will do; till when I shall say no more, only to assure you that you shall always find me to be yours.

The Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—The party of the House of Commons which presses for a war refuses a supply.

London, Feb. 5, 1678.

BY the last letters I see you were not then come back to the Hague, but were expected there that night

or the next day : I believe you will be very impatient to know how affairs go here ; you will by this post have a copy of his Majesty's answer to the address of the House of Commons, which was given them yesterday morning, for all which they go on but very slowly, and those who seemed to be most zealous for a war with France last sessions, are those who obstruct most the giving of a supply ; and it has been all his Majesty's servants in the house have been able to do, to get a vote with great pains and wranglings, and that at six o'clock this night, for a supply of the maintenance of the alliance with Holland, and the preservation of Flanders. To-morrow they are to proceed to the sum it shall be, which I am afraid will be much disputed and lessened, as much as the ill people can get it ; and without a very considerable one, we shall be able to go on but very lamely with the war. But we must do as well as we can, and till this money matter be settled, we can make no farther preparations than those we have already ; I have not time to say more to you now, but that you shall always find me yours.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—To the same purpose.

London, Feb. 8, 1678.

I WOULD not let this bearer Cornwall go back without writing to you by him. I have kept him here a great while, thinking to have had something of consequence to write by a sure messenger, but I would not keep him any longer. Things here go but slowly on ; for, though the House of Commons voted yesterday that they would provide money for ninety ships, and to day the same for thirty thousand land men, yett I feare they may be so long about raising a fons for the maintenance of them, that we shall be able to do little this yeare, for till there be a certainty of the mony, we cannot go in hand with the fitting of more ships, or

raising more men than those we have already, and I am sure no tyme shall be lost when we can once go to worke. I have not tyme to say more, only to assure you that you shall always find me to be very kind to you.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—The King's bad opinion of Buckingham.

London, Feb. 9, 1678.

WHEN I wrote yesterday to you by Mr. Cornwall I had but little time to say any thing to you, nor have I much more now by this bearer Godolphin, whom his Majesty sends to you about affairs of great concern, as you will find when he speaks with you; of which it is not necessary for me to say any thing, but that we shall expect your answer with great impatience. In the mean time, I believe you will have been surprised with the news of the Duke of Buckingham's having leave to come to court; I am sure I was, for I knew nothing of it till he had been with his Majesty; but his Majesty knows him too well to let him do any harme. It is not necessary for me to say more to you by this bearer, who is so well instructed of all things here; so I shall say no more at this time but to assure you, you shall always find me very kind to you.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Troops are to be sent to Ostend and Newport; but the Spaniards make difficulties.

London, Feb. 13, 1678.

IDID not write to you by the post of yesterday, because I designed to write to you by this bearer Lord Ossory, and then I was willing to see what the Marquis de Bourgemaine would say; for though he received his letters on Monday morning, he kept it a secret to those he should have acquainted with it in the first place, till last night, that he said something to his Majesty of it, and this morning he gave in the writing, (a copy of which you have seen) about Ostend, but would call it
nothing

nothing but a paper, and did so carry himself with those appointed to treat with him, that he gave them little satisfaction, and does not advance the work at all, and I do not understand his politick when time is so precious to them; but it shall not be our faults if we do not immediately send some men both to Newport and Ostend. I need not say more to you on account of all things here, only to continue the assurance of my kindnesses to you.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Glad of the million vote of the House of Commons.

London, Feb. 19, 1678.

I RECEIVED yesterday a letter from you by the post, and just now one from you by Godolphin, but have not yet had time to speak with him about the business he went to you on, and shall not before the post goes, it being now late; but I believe I shall sooner than the next post have an opportunity of writing to you; for except Mr. Van Buning can prevail with the Marquis de Bourgemain to be more reasonable than he is, his Majesty will be forced to send one over to treat with the Duke de Villahermosa about the affair of Ostend, in which he has yet done nothing, notwithstanding the orders he has had, though we have pressed him to it. I have not time to say more, nor to give you an account of the good vote passed yesterday in the House of Commons, and only can assure you it shall not be our faults here if things be not done as you can desire. We shall now go in hand to raise the rest of our men to compleat them to the number designed; and pray be assured I shall be always very kind to you.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—The Commons delay the supply.

London, Feb. 22, 1678.

BY the letters come this day from the Hague, I find you are gone to the army upon the news of the

French being come towards Namur. I am sorry we go so slowly on in our preparation; it is now near a month that the parliament have sat, and yet not so much as a money bill got ready. I hope this alarm of this seige will quicken them, and that M. de Bourgemaine will no longer make any delays, which have proved so prejudicial to his master's affairs; for so soon as he will but say it, we are ready to send our men for Ostend and Newport; and when once any of the money bills are so far advanced as we can get credit upon them, no time shall be lost, and then you shall hear farther from me, which is all I have now time to say to you.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Complains of Spain and the House of Commons;—is to go over himself with the army.

London, March 3, 1678.

IT was but yesterday morning that I received your's of the 5th from Mecklin, and I assure you was very sensibly touched with it, and am sensible as you can desire I should, of the condition you are in. If the parliament or the Spaniards had done their parts as they should, things had been, I am confident, in a better condition than they are now, but one must think of what is to come; this goes to you by Godolphin, whom his Majesty sends to you to inform you how things are here, and to consult with you what now is to be done. We did not hear till this day of Ghent's being taken; and at the desire of the Marquis de Bourgemaine, his Majesty has ordered the two battalions that are at Ostend of our troops to go to Bruges, and we are sending twelve companies to Ostend; and you may be assured that nothing shall be wanting that we can do to support your interest. Commissions are now giving out to raise more men; and as soon as we can get a considerable body together, I intend to go over with them to you; and it will not be long before I send
over

over somebody to you to adjust that affair with you. This bearer will inform you of all things else, and assure you that I shall always be as kind to you as you can desire.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—The King refuses to raise foreign troops.—Is to raise more troops at home.—The Duke impatient to go over.

London, March 8, 1678.

SINCE Godolphin went I have received two from you, the first of the 10th from Macklin, and the other of the 14th from Boom; by the last of which I see you believe the French were gone to besiege Ipres, which proves to be so, we having had letters by the way of Calais of its actually being besieged. I must confess I was glad to hear they were gone thither; for by what one can judge at this distance, I was of opinion they might have taken either Bruxelles or Bruges, for that you could not cover both of them; but I am sorry to find by what you say, that Ipres is as bad a place, for I was in hopes that place might have held out some tyme, and given you some breathing tyme, at least I hope it will give you leisure to secure the other two places I mentioned. As to what you proposed concerning getting some German troops, I shewed his Majesty your letter, who bids me tell you he had no money to spare for it, and that had he any, it should be made use on to raise more troops here. As for those we are raising, the commissions are but now given out, which would have signified nothing to have been done sooner; for till this day that the poll bill passed the House of Commons, no money could be got; and to morrow or next day the levy money will be given to the several colonels, who are obliged to have their regiments compleat in six weeks tyme: and you may be sure I shall do my part to hasten things all I can, being very desirous to be with you. I see you had already heard of some of our troops being landed at Ostend; we have yet but two battalions

there, which ought to be eight hundred each, and we have twelve companies more ready to embarke so soon as the wind changes, which is all we can spare at present, till our new levies begin to come in; for we must not leave this town with fewer troops in it than there are at present. The post is ready to go, so that I can say no more at present, but that you shall always find me very kind to you.

The Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—The army is raising fast.—The Duke is to go over.—The popular party obstruct the war.

London, March 12, 1678.

THERE are no letters come this day from beyond sea, so that we are very ignorant of what passes at Ipres, or any where else, in the mean time we are preparing all things here as fast as we can, to be in a condition of helping you. The commissions and levy money are given out, and the officers are gone down into their respective counties to raise their men, and I make no doubt that their several regiments will be soon compleated and at the rendezvous, which will be for most of them about this town, and some near Harwich for the convenience of embarking them. They have six weeks time given them for the raising of their men, but I hope most of them will have their men together sooner; and now within a few days, I intend to send one to you to adjust all things with you, both as to the place and time of our landing. To-morrow I hope the poll bill will pass both Houses, but the House of Commons go on but very slowly in their other money bills; however, we must do as well as we can, and work through many difficulties which disaffected, and those of the republican party raise every day. It is late, and the post ready to go, so that I can say no more now but to assure you that I shall always be your's.

The Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—The popular party refuse money and obstruct the levies.

London, March 19, 1678.

I SEE by yours of the 22, that you were still at Boom, and that things continue in as ill a condition where you were, as when I heard last from you, and I am sorry to tell you that things do not mend here at all since Godolphin went hence; for though the poll bill be past both houses, and will have his Majesty's assent to it to morrow, yet that will prove but an inconsiderable sume to what we must have to maintain so many men and ships as we have, and are to have in pay; and most people beleve this bill will produce cleere to his Majesty not above three hundred thousand pounds; and for any other money bill, there is none in hand but that for taxing the new buildings, and it is uncertain whether that will pass in the house of commons, there being so many of the members concerned in it; and truly the temper of the house seems not to be good, and looks if some of them minded more how to get the power from the King than any thing else; however, our levies go on very well, though some of the same persons do endeavour to obstruct them; and our horse, which I have thought would have been the longest a raising, will be the soonest ready, there being severall troupes of horse that have already their full number and well mounted. We are very impatient here to heare of Godolphin's being with you, which we hope to do very sone, which is all I shall now say to you at this tyme.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—The Commons will not give money for the war.—The Duke expects war for certain.

London, March 22, 1678.

I Received last night yours by Godolphin, who has given me an account of what you had charged him with,

with, and am cleerly of your mind, and what you desire must be done, and his Majesty will have a positive answer by the end of the Easter holidays, till which time I believe the parliament will adjourn some tyme the beginning of next week, and I am absolutely of your opinion, knowing the temper of the French, that we must have a war, and I wish the house of commons would do their part, as well as we shall do ours for the carrying it on, for the levys go on very fast, and we are setting out more ships every day; but they have such groundless jealousies in their heads, that they make no advances in the providing the rest of the money; However, I intend very soon to send one over to you to adjust all things with you. I believe you will have a more particular account from lord Treasurer of all things, so that I shall say no more, only to assure you that you shall always find me very kind to you.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.——Appears heartily for the war.

London, April 2, 1678.

THIS bearer, Churchill, whom his Majesty sends over to you, to adjust all things with you and the Spaniards, concerning our troops, is so fully instructed in all points that concern it, that, as to that, I shall refer myself to him, and to what he shall say to you upon that subject; but now that I am writing to you, I must say something to you which Mr. Hyde has, by this post, orders to communicate to, and prefs Mr. Fagel in; it is that we are afraide, by what Mr. Vanbuninge sayde two days ago to me, that the squadron you have now at Cadiz, under the command of Eneston, might, either upon the newse of the French having quitted Messina, or for want of being payd by the Spaniard, come back for Holland, which, if it should be, would be very prejudicial to us all, for then the French would be absolute masters at sea in the Mediterranean, and not only destroy both your trade and ours, but also very much trouble
and

and molest the Spaniard in all their coasts and islands in that sea, for our squadron, which is there, will not alone be strong enough to deale with the French, for at this time we have but 22 men of war and two fire-ships there, and can spare no more from hence, but then to make them up 25 men of war and five fire-ships. I hope you will consider this, and the ill consequences which may in all likelihood happen, should your squadron come away, and therefore I hope you will, so soon as may be, send orders to them to stay, for you cannot imagin how necessary it is for us they should remaine there to joyne with our squadron, especially now that we are so neare declaring of a war, which will now be done upon the least encouragement from you, and the States doing their parts, which is all I shall say to you now, only to assure you that I shall be as kind to you as you can desire.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.——Expects common measures by the Dutch, Spaniards, and the Emperor, for the conduct of the war.

London, April 7th, 1678.

BEFORE this you will have received mine by Churchill, for I hear he went from the Downs on Friday morning, and believe he got that night to Flushing: This goes to you by an exprefs which his Majesty sends to Churchill, to give him instructions to speake to you about the troops which are at Bruges, I mean the English, which we have no mind to lose, being above four battalions of our old regiments; and we are apprehensive here that the first thing the French will do will be to besiege that place, and the rather because our men are in it; and if he should take them prisoners of warr, it would be a very great flaw to us, and I am confident he would willingly venture the losing a thousand or two of his men to take our old regiments; so that except the Spaniards or you wou'd put more men
into

into it, I fear those we have there will run the hazard of being lost: I hope you will consider of this, and either put so many men into it, that may hinder the French from attacking it, or let us draw some of our men out of it, for I fear, should it once be besieged, it could not well be relieved. I am sure I need say no more to you of this, since I know you will do what is best for the common good, and besides Churchill will speake more at large to you about it. We are very impatient to have the next letters from Holland, hoping, that before the houses sit again, that Mr. Vanbuning may have powers to treat with us here, and the Empress and Spanish envoys; for you know we can do nothing without you; which is all I shall say to you now, but to assure you, you shall always find me ever kind to you.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Complains of the delays of the Dutch.—Anxious that the war should go on, that the King may get money.

London, April 16, 1678.

THIS bearer, Godolfin, goes so fully instructed, and can give you so true an account of all things here, that it is not necessary for me to say much to you in this letter, yet I cannot forbear saying to you, that all honest men were both surpris'd and troubled at the delay has been made by the states in the matter of the treaty here; you see that that was the only cause of the adjourning of the parliament yesterday, but I hope that your going to the Hague will make them take good and vigorous resolutions for the carrying on of the war, and that Mr. Vanbuning will receive orders accordingly before the houses meet againe. It is of the last importance to us, and I do not know what may happen if the war does not go on, considering the temper of the nation, and the ill condition his Majesty's affairs must be in for want of money. I will say no more, for you will be much better informed of all these things by this bearer,

bearer, and end with the assuring you of the continuance of my kindnesse to you.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.——The Princess of Orange has miscarried.——More troops to be sent over.

London, April 19, 1678.

I WAS very sorry to find by the letters of this day from Holland, that my daughter has miscarried; pray let her be carefuller of herself another time: I will write to her to the same purpose. I am also sorry to find by your letter that the Spaniards have so few men that they can send no more troops into Bruges; but since that cannot be, we shall send immediately two battalions more thither, as you advise; which is all I have now to say to you, but that I am yours.

There is in King William's box the following letter, on the same subject with those of the duke of York, from lord Danby to the Prince of Orange, but not published by his lordship with his other letters.

Lord Danby to the Prince of Orange.——State of the King and Parliament.

London, Feb. 8, 1677-8.

HIS Majesty finds such great discouragements both from the dilatory proceedings of the parliament, and the untoward actings of the Spaniard with him, that your highnesse will find by Mr. Godolphin, hee is in hopes of little good but by a peace, and I must confesse our appearances promise little good by a war.

Hee thinkes this peace may bee had by giving the King of France some other place for Tournay, and can himselfe thinke only upon Charlemont, as a place the Spaniard may best spare; but I find they would rather have Luxembourgh or Ypres, and will not to me owne lesse

lesse than both those places in lieu of Tournay, and I believe his Majesty knows no more than mysele in this matter. Whatever your Highnesse's opinion may bee of the proposition, I do assure you there is no cause from it to feare any alteration in the King from the measures he has taken with your Highnesse, so that when your Highnesse knows the true state of things here, if you shall not approve the having such conditions offered to France, you may bee confident you will heare no more of them, but (as I have formerly writt to your Highnesse) if the King cannot have Ostend for a port where to land his men and lay magazines, you are never to expect any succors of men from us in Flanders. For my owne part, I know not what either to wish or advise in this case; on the one hand the nation expecting a war from us, and yett on the other move so slowly towards one, that at best we cannot expect to have any considerable force in readinesse before May, and not certain how long that shall bee supported. I pray God you may advise the best, because I am sure wee shall go along with you in your fortunes, to which no man wishes more prosperity than mysele, who am your Highnesse's most eternally faithfull servant. D.

Notwithstanding the appearance of hostilities between England and France, it appears from lord Danby's letters (which are published) that during most of this time Charles and Louis were treating of a general peace, the price of which was to be a great sum of money given by the last to the first of these princes. This, together with the obstructions to the preparations for the war, created by the popular party in the house of commons, made it easy for Louis to buy off the seeming ardour of Charles and the duke of York for the war.

It appears by Barillon's dispatches, that a private and separate treaty for this purpose was begun in the beginning of May 1678, and in a few days concluded. The general outline of it, as intended by France, was, that

Charles

Charles should stand neuter in the war if the allies should refuse the terms of peace which France had offered at Nimeguen a few weeks before ; should not assemble his parliament for six months ; should disband his army ; and should receive six millions of livres from France.

Barillon writes to his court, 12 May, 1678, "*Le Roi lui même signera le traité, aucuns des ses sujets n'est assez hardi pour l'oser faire.*"—"The King himself will sign the treaty, none of his subjects are bold enough to do it."

On the 17th May, 1678, Charles writes the following letter of congratulation to Louis the XIVth, on the prospect of the treaty.

Lettre du Roi d'Angleterre au Roi, du 17 Mai, 1678.

"**M**ONSIEUR, mon frere. Ce m'est une joie extreme de trouver que l'occasion de renouer cette amitié qui sembloit se pouvoir interrompre par le passé, se présente si favorable et assurée, et que j'aye eû le bonheur de contribuer à la paix de la Chrétienté autant que j'ai fait par les articles que le Sieur de Rouvigny vous porte. Comme vous agissés par cette paix tout à fait pour votre gloire, je le reçois aussi pour un effet de votre bonne volonté pour moi le plus particulier qui me peut être rendu, en ce qu'elle met les fondemens d'une amitié que j'espere, durera autant qu'il plaira à Dieu de nous laisser vivre. Les circonstances de mes affaires m'ont obligé de finir avec votre Ambassadeur en des manieres extraordinaires, parceque le secret est de la plus grande importance pour moi et pour mes affaires ; ainsi je vous prie bien fort que rien n'en soit dit, que je ne témoigne à l'Ambassadeur que le tout peut être public sans me préjudicier. J'ai prié le Sieur de Rouvigny de vous parler de tous mes intérêts, pour lesquels je fais fondement sur votre amitié, sachant combien et pleinement vous

vous devés être assuré de la mienne, ainsi je prie Dieu,
Monsieur mon frere, de vous avoir en sa sainte garde.”
Votre bon frere;

(Signé)

CHARLES.

Translation.

*Letter from the King of England to Louis the XIVth, 17th
May, 1678.—Congratulates him on the private
treaty they are making together.*

“SIR, my brother. It is an extreme joy to me to find that the occasion of renewing that friendship which seemed likely to be interrupted, presents itself so favorably and certainly, and that I have had the happiness to contribute to the peace of Christendom so much as I have done by the articles which the Sieur de Rouvigny carries to you. As you act entirely in this peace for your glory, I receive it also as the most particular effect that could have been shewn me of your good will towards me, seeing it lays the foundations of a friendship which I hope will last as long as it shall please God to let us live. The circumstances of my affairs have obliged me to finish with your Ambassador in an extraordinary manner, because the secret is of the greatest importance to me and to my affairs; I therefore earnestly pray that nothing be said of it, till I let your Ambassador know that the whole may be publick without prejudice to me. I have desired the Sieur de Rouvigny to speak to you upon all my concerns, for which I depend on your friendship, knowing how much and how fully you ought be assured of mine. So, I pray God, Sir, my brother, to keep you in his holy protection. Your good brother,

(Signed)

CHARLES.”

In the Depot.

On the 22d May, Barillon writes, that an embarrassment had happened in putting the terms of the treaty into writing. For that Charles made a scruple of signing

ing a treaty which formally obliged him to prorogue his parliament and to disband his army. To remove this, Barillon proposed that these two articles should not be contained in that part of the treaty which was to be signed by Charles; but that there should be a separate article to be signed by Barillon alone, whereby it was to be provided that Louis should not pay the six millions of livres, until Charles had prorogued his parliament and disbanded his army.

Upon this plan the treaty was executed on the 27th May, 1678; a copy of which is in the *Depot* at Versailles, as follows.

Traite avec le Roi d'Angleterre, du 27 Mai, 1678.

“ **L** E Roi d'Angleterre ayant été requis depuis peu, *In the Depot.*
 et sollicité fortement par les Etats Généraux,
 d'employer ses offices auprès de sa Majesté très Chrétienne, pour l'obliger à consentir que le projet de paix donné à Nimigue par ses Ambassadeurs ne reçût aucun changement pendant deux mois, et que la prise des places que les armes de sa Majesté très Chrétienne ont occupées depuis le dit projet dans les Pays-bas et ailleurs, et qu'elles pourroient occuper encore ci après, n'empêchât pas que le même projet ne pût être accepté par les Etats généraux et leurs alliés dans le dit tems de deux mois. Cette réquisition des dits Etats Généraux, et les instances réitérées qu'ils en ont faites à sa Majesté Britannique, l'ont engagée à s'employer de tout son pouvoir auprès des sa Majesté très Chrétienne, laquelle en considération des offices de sa Majesté Britannique, et pour montrer d'autant plus le véritable desir qu'elle a de contribuer de sa part à tout ce qui peut faciliter la conclusion de la paix, a consenti, et accordé avec sa Majesté Britannique, par le Sieur de Barillon, Conseiller d'Etat de sa dite Majesté très Chrétienne, et son Ambassadeur Extraordinaire auprès de sa Majesté Britannique, chargé d'un pouvoir suffisant, ce qui s'ensuit.

N

Premierement :

Premierement : En cas que le projet de paix donné à Nimégue au mois d'Avril dernier par les Ambassadeurs de sa Majesté très Chrétienne ne soit pas accepté dans deux mois du jour de la signature du présent traité, par les Etats Généraux, et par Mr. de Villafermosa, ou l'un d'eux, sa Majesté Britannique s'engage à demeurer dans une entière neutralité, pendant tout le tems que la présente guerre durera, et de n'assister directement ni indirectement, soit par mer, soit par terre, en vaisseaux, hommes, ou argent, les Espagnols ni les Etats Généraux, ni aucun de leurs alliés contre sa Majesté très Chrétienne ou ses alliés.

Secondement : Pour l'exécution de la neutralité à laquelle sa Majesté Britannique s'engage, elle promet aussitôt après deux mois expirés, de rappeler les troupes qu'elle a fait passer en Flanders, à l'exception toutes fois de 3000 hommes que sa dite Majesté Britannique se reserve de pouvoir laisser dans Ostende en garnison, sans contrevenir au présent traité, lequel nombre de 3000 hommes ne pourra être augmenté en aucun cas, ni sortir de la dite ville, mais sera seulement employé à la conservation de la place.

Troisiemement : En cas que les Etats Généraux se portent à accepter en son entier, le projet de paix qui a été communiqué par les Ambassadeur de sa Majesté très Chrétienne à Nimegue, ils seront tenus dans le terme de deux mois porté cy dessus, de remettre entre les mains de sa Majesté très Chrétienne un acte en bonne forme, par lequel les dits Etats Généraux témoigneront convenir des dites propositions de paix, et déclareront que, soit qu'elles soient agréées ou non par tous leurs alliés, ils demeureront dans une entière neutralité à l'égard de la France, sans pouvoir directement ni indirectement donner aucune assistance à ses ennemis, soit par terre, soit par mer, en troupes, en vaisseaux, ou en argent, pendant tout le tems que la présente guerre durera ; et à faute de fournir cet acte dans le dit tems par les dits Etats Généraux, ils ne seront pas réputés avoir accepté le projet de paix ; et sera en ce cas sa Majesté Britannique

nique obligée à toutes les clauses et conditions portées par le premier et le second articles cy dessus.

Quatrièmement: Lorsque les conditions principales de la paix auront été arrêtées et acceptées par toutes les parties intéressées, conformément au projet donné par sa Majesté très Chrétienne, elles seront renvoyées à Nimègue pour y être réduites, étendues et signées en forme de traité par les Ambassadeurs Plenipotentiaires et Ministres des dites parties intéressées; se seront aussi discutées à Nimègue les autres choses de moindre conséquence, et qui suivent toujours les intérêts plus importants.

Cinquièmement: En execution de la paix touchant les places qui seront prises dans les Pays-bas, ou ailleurs, depuis le projet donné à Nimègue au mois d'Avril dernier, ils seront restitués de part et d'autre.

Sixièmement: Sa Majesté très Chrétienne, conformément à la réquisition qui lui en a été faite, par sa Majesté Britannique, promet de faire jouir librement Mr. de Prince d'Orange de toutes ses biens situés sous la domination de sa dite Majesté très Chrétienne, même de la Principauté d'Orange, après que les États Généraux auront accepté le dit projet de paix.

Tout ce que dessus a été consenti et accordé entre le Roi d'Angleterre et le dit Sieur Ambassadeur, et a sa dite Majesté Britannique signé de sa main, et promis et promet garder et observer tout ce qui est contenu dans le présent traité sans y contrevenir, et s'oblige d'en fournir sa ratification scellée du grand sceau d'Angleterre dans le tems de deux mois d'aujourd'hui.

Et a pareillement, le dit Sieur de Barillon, Conseiller d'Etat de sa dite Majesté très Chrétienne, et son Ambassadeur Extraordinaire auprès de sa dite Majesté Britannique, signé le présent traité, et promis au nom du Roi son maître d'en fournir la ratification scellée du grand sceau dans le même tems de deux mois. Fait à Londres ce 27 Mai, 1678.

(Signé) CHARLES et un R. Et au dessous,
BARILLON DAMONCOURT."

Article séparé.

“ JE soussigné Ambassadeur de France promets à sa Majesté Britannique au mon du Roi nom maître, de lui faire payer la somme de six millions de livres tournois ; dont le premier payement sera de trois millions, et se fera incontinent après les deux mois portés par le traité signé ce jourd'hui ; les autres trois millions se payeront par quartier et par portions égales, tous les trois mois dans l'année révolue depuis le surdit premier payement, à condition expresse qu' aussitôt après les deux mois expirés, à compter de ce jourd'hui, sa Majesté Britannique rappellera toutes les troupes qu'elle a en Flandres, à la reserve de 3000 hommes destinés pour Ostende ; et à condition aussi que toutes les troupes que sa Majesté Britannique a nouvellement levées, seront licenciées aussitôt après leur arrivée dans ses royaumes ; à l'exception toutes fois des 3000 hommes destinés pour Ostende ; et de trois autres mille hommes que sa Majesté Britannique destine pour envoyer en Ecosse ; et à condition aussi que sa Majesté Britannique prorogera son parlement pour quatre mois au moins ; à compter depuis les deux mois expirés pendant lesquels le projet donné à Nimigue doit être accepté ; et ne sera tenue sa Majesté très Chrétienne de commencer à faire le payement des trois premieres millions, qu' après que sa Majesté Britannique aura prorogé son parlement pour quatre mois ; rappelé ses troupes de Flandres ; et licencié celles qui ont été nouvellement levées, ainsi qu'il est porté cy dessus. Fait à Londres le 27 Mai, 1768.

(Signé) BARILLON DAMONCOURT.”

Translation

Translation.

Treaty with the King of England of the 27th of May, 1678.——Charles is to stand neuter if the allies refuse the terms of peace offered by France; is not to assemble his parliament for six months; is to disband his army; and to receive six millions of livres from France.

“THE King of England having lately been required and strongly solicited by the States General to employ his good offices with his most Christian Majesty to prevail with him to consent that the project of peace given at Nimiguen by his Ambassadors may receive no change during two months, and that the taking of the places which his most Christian Majesty’s arms have occupied since the said project in the Low Countries and other parts, or that shall be hereafter occupied by them, may not hinder the States General and their allies from accepting of the same project within the said time of two months: This requisition of the said States General, and the reiterated instances they have made to his Britannick Majesty, have engaged him to employ every means in his power with his most Christian Majesty, who, in consideration of his Britannick Majesty’s offices, and the more to shew the sincere desire he hath to contribute on his part to every thing that can facilitate the conclusion of a peace, hath consented, and agreed with his Britannick Majesty, by the *Sieur de Barrillon*, Privy Counsellor of State to his said most Christian Majesty, and his Ambassador Extraordinary to his Britannick Majesty, authorized by a sufficient power, upon what follows.

First: In case the project of peace offered at Nimeguen in the month of April last by his most Christian Majesty’s Ambassadors is not accepted in two months from the day of the signing the present treaty, by the States General, and by *Mr. de Villaformosa*, or one of them, his Britannick Majesty engages to remain in per-

fect neutrality as long as the present war shall last, and not to assist, directly or indirectly, either by sea or by land, with ships, men or money, the Spaniards or the States General, or any of their allies, against his most Christian Majesty and his allies.

Secondly : For the execution of the neutrality to which his Britannick Majesty obliges himself, he promises as soon as two months are expired, to recall the troops he sent into Flanders, 3000 men always excepted, which his Britannick Majesty reserves to be left in garrison at Ostend, without contravention to the present treaty ; which number of 3000 men shall not be augmented in any case, nor go out of the said town, but only be employed to preserve the place.

Thirdly : In case the States General incline to accept fully the project of peace which has been communicated by his most Christian Majesty's Ambassadors at Nimeguen, they shall be bound, within the term of two months above-mentioned, to put into his most Christian Majesty's hands a formal instrument by which the said States General are to testify their agreeing to the said propositions of peace, and to declare that whether they be or be not agreed to by all their allies, they will remain in an entire neutrality with regard to France, without giving directly or indirectly any assistance to its enemies, either by land or sea, or by ships, troops or money, so long as the present war shall last ; and on default of this instrument being furnished within the said time by the said States General, they shall not be deemed to have accepted the project of peace ; and in this case his Britannick Majesty shall be bound to all the clauses and conditions contained in the first and second articles aforesaid.

Fourthly : When the principal conditions of the peace have been agreed on, and accepted by all the parties interested, conformable to the project offered by his most Christian Majesty, they shall be sent back to Nimeguen, there to be reduced, extended and signed in form of a treaty by the Ambassadors Plenipotentiary and

and Ministers of the said interested parties ; and also then shall be adjusted at Nimeguen the other things of less consequence, and which always follow more important interests.

Fifthly : In execution of the peace concerning the places which shall have been taken in the Low Countries or elsewhere since the offering the project at Nimeguen in the month of April last, they shall be restored on both sides.

Sixthly : His most Christian Majesty, conformable to the requisition made to him by his Britannick Majesty, promises to give the Prince of Orange the free enjoyment of all his estates situated in his said most Christian Majesty's dominions, and also the principality of Orange, after the States General shall have accepted the said project of peace.

All that is above has been consented to and agreed upon between the King of England and the said Ambassador, and signed with his said Britannick Majesty's hand ; and he promised and promiseth to keep and observe all that is contained in the present treaty without contravention, and obligeth himself to furnish his ratification sealed with the great seal of England, in the space of two months from this day.

In like manner the said Sieur de Barillon, Counsellor of State to his said most Christian Majesty, and Ambassador to his said Britannick Majesty, hath signed the present treaty, and promiseth in the name of the King his master to furnish the ratification of it sealed with the great seal, in the same space of two months. Done at London the 27th May, 1678.

(Signed) CHARLES and an R. Underneath,
BARILLON DAMONCOURT.

Separate Article.

I THE underwritten ambassador of France, promise to his Britannick Majesty, in the name of the King my master, to cause to be paid to him the sum of six
N 4. millions.

millions of livres tournois ; the first payment of which shall be three millions, and immediately made after the two months expressed in the treaty signed this day ; the other three millions shall be paid quarterly and by equal portions, every three months in the year succeeding the abovementioned first payment, upon express condition that as soon as the two months expire, to be computed from this day, his Britannick Majesty shall recall all the troops he has in Flanders, reserving 3000 men destined for Ostend ; and upon condition also that all the troops which his Britannick Majesty has newly raised, shall be disbanded immediately after their arrival in his dominions, 3000 always excepted destined for Ostend, and 3000 more which his Britannick Majesty intends to send into Scotland ; and also upon condition that his Britannick Majesty shall prorogue his parliament for at least four months, to be computed from the expiration of the two months, within which the project delivered at Nimeguen is to be accepted ; nor shall his most Christian Majesty be held to begin the payment of the three first millions, till after his Britannick Majesty shall have prorogued his parliament for four months, recalled his troops from Flanders, and disbanded those that have been newly raised, as is herein before mentioned. Done at London, 27 May, 1678.

(Signed) BARILLON DAMONCOURT.

There is also in the *Depot* the following dispatch of Barillon enclosing the treaty, which shews how it had been conducted, and the great consequence of it to France.

Lettre de Mr. de Barillon au Roi, du 28 Mai, 1678.

Sire,

MR. de Rouvigny porte à votre Majesté la copie du Traité qui fût signé hier par sa Majesté Britannique. Votre Majesté verra que ses ordres ont été suivis pour toutes les choses essentielles. Ce qu'il peut

In the *Depot*.

peut y avoir de changement dans les termes et dans la manière n'étoit pas assez important pour retarder la conclusion d'une affaire dont les suites sont si considérables. La somme de six millions sera fournie aux termes prescrits par votre Majesté. Je n'ai promis cette somme qu'à condition expresse que le parlement seroit prorogé quatre mois ; que les troupes seroient rappelées de Flandres, et que celles qui sont nouvellement levées seroient licenciés. Il m'a été impossible de me dispenser de consentir que 3000 hommes de nouvelles troupes destinées pour envoyer en Ecosse ne soient conservés. J'ai résisté longtems, mais il ne m'a pas paru qu'il soit de grande conséquence que le Roi d'Angleterre ait sur pied 3000 hommes, plus ou moins ; et une plus longue résistance de ma part auroit donné ici des soupçons, que votre Majesté ne voulût empêcher sa Majesté Britannique de rétablir son autorité dans un pays qui est presque soulevé.

Il a été aussi absolument impossible de réduire le Roi d'Angleterre à signer un traité, par lequel il seroit obligé à proroguer son parlement et à licencier ses troupes ; mais l'expédient qui a été trouvé produit le même effet ; car je n'ai promis le paiement de la somme que votre Majesté lui accorde, qu'après que l'une et l'autre de ces conditions sera exécutée : une prorogation de quatre mois (qui ne commenceront qu'après les deux mois portés par le traité) donne du tems pour travailler à obtenir la cassation du parlement dans la suite, et il sera mal aisé de se défendre ici de ce que votre Majesté désirera.

Il n'y a point d'articles secrets ; j'ai seulement donné une promesse conditionnée, qui empêche qu'on ne puisse rien demander à votre Majesté que les conditions ne soient entièrement accomplies. Le Roi d'Angleterre a regardé comme une chose qui étoit de la dernière conséquence en son pays, de ne point promettre de porter les Etats Généraux à accepter le projet de paix ; mais

ce Prince s'oblige à demeurer neutre en cas que le projet ne soit pas accepté dans deux mois en la forme que votre Majesté l'a envoyé, et je croi que cela est suffisamment expliqué par le traité.

Il me paroît que la préface du traité n'est pas moins avantageuse pour votre Majesté que si le Roi d'Angleterre faisoit paroître qu'il a pressé les Etats Généraux d'accepter le projet ; il est au contraire plus conformé à la gloire et à la dignité de votre Majesté, qu'il paroisse que ses ennemis recherchent la paix par l'entremise de sa Majesté Britannique.

Mr. de Rouvigny rendra compte à votre Majesté de la résistance que j'ai apportée pendant plusieurs jours, pour réduire toutes choses, même dans la manière et les expressions, comme votre Majesté avoit parû le vouloir ; mais après avoir obtenu le fond et les conditions essentielles, je n'ai pas crû devoir laisser languir une négociation dont l'événement pouvoit devenir douteux.

Quoique je n'aye pas été persuadé qu'on fût ici en état d'empêcher les Etats Généraux de faire la paix, elle auroit pû être retardé et embarrassée de nouvelles difficultés, au lieu qu'après le traité de sa Majesté Britannique, rien de peut vraisemblablement empêcher les Etats Généraux d'achever ce qu'ils ont commencé. Il est toujours périlleux ici, qu'un parlement dont la plupart des membres sont gagnés par la cour, ne prenne des résolutions extremes, et ne donne de l'argent sous le prétexte d'une guerre contre la France. Je m'étendrois d'avantage sur cela, si Mr. de Rouvigny qui en est pleinement instruit, n'en devoit rendre compte à votre Majesté. J'ai crû qu'il étoit de son service de ne pas différer plus long tems la conclusion d'un traité, qui met votre Majesté dans la sûreté entière de faire une paix plus glorieuse de beaucoup dans toutes ses circonstances, qu'aucun autre dont on ait jamais entendu parler. Votre Majesté qui a plus de lumieres que personne, en connoit mieux aussi tous les avantages présens, et ceux qu'elle en tirera à l'avenir.

Le

Le Roi d'Angleterre desira fort que ce qu'il a fait demeure secret pendant quelque tems, pour pouvoir faire paroître au parlement que les Etats le mettent dans une entiere necessité de faire la paix, et essayer par là de tirer de l'argent pour le licenciement des troupes. Je crois outre cela que sa Majesté Britannique veut, que le Prince d'Orange se fasse quelque mérite en Hollande en facilitant la conclusion de la paix, qu'il a traversée jusqu' a présent. Je ne doute pas qu'on ne lui ait communiqué par avance la résolution qui a été prise ici de faire un traité avec votre Majesté. Sa Majesté Britannique m'a dit qu'on n'en diroit encore rien aux ministres de Hollande qui sont ici, mais j'ai eû de trop longues et de trop fréquentes conférences avec milord Trésorier, pour croire qu'on ne soupçonne pas quelque chose d'approchant de la vérité.

Sa Majesté Britannique m'a dit aussi qu'elle envoyoit à Bruxelles pour presser Mr. de Villafermosa de conclurre avec votre Majesté, et d'accepter le projet de paix.

Quoique je n'aye pas crû que le dessein du Roi d'Angleterre fût de manquer l'occasion de faire un traité avec votre Majesté, j'eûs néanmoins, il y a deux jours, un juste sujet de craindre que le dessein du grand Trésorier ne fût de traîner l'affaire en longueur, et d'en éloigner la conclusion. Ce ministre dit que le peu d'expérience qu'il avoit dans les affaires de la nature de celles que nous traitons, l'avoit obligé de supplier le Roi son maître de lui donner quelqu' un qui pût l'aider, et l'empêcher de faire des fautes ; et que sa Majesté Britannique avoit nommé Mr. Temple avec qui il me prioit de conférer. Je fût fort surpris, mais je ne crûs pas devoir témoigner d'abord aucune répugnance. J'allai le lendemain matin voir Mr. Temple, que je trouvai au lit faisant le malade, ou l'étant effectivement ; je jugeai qu'il falloit faire un effort pour lever cet obstacle, et je pressai le Roi d'Angleterre, et Mr. le Duc d'York fort vivement de conclurre ou de rompre le traité. J'apportai à lors toutes les facilités que je pouvois, et je déclarai,

que

que si on n'acceptoit mes offres je ne signerois plus que je n'eusse de nouveaux ordres : Mr. le Duc d'York prit l'affaire avec chaleur, et me fit donner une parole positive par le Roi d'Angleterre, que l'affaire seroit conclue le lendemain. Mr. le Duc de York paroît avoir une grande envie de mériter la même part dans les bonnes grâces de votre Majesté, qu'il a eue autre fois : il s'est conduit dans la négociation comme je le pouvois souhaiter. Je juis, &c.

(Signé). BARILLON.

Translation,

Letter from Mr. Barillon to Louis XIVth. — Account of his method of conducting the private treaty of 27th May, 1678.

Sire,

28th May, 1678.

“**M**R. de Rouvigny carries your Majesty the copy of the treaty which was signed yesterday by his Britannick Majesty, Your Majesty will see that your orders have been followed in every thing that is essential. What may have been changed in the terms and the manner, was not important enough to retard the conclusion of an affair, the consequence of which are so considerable. The sum of six millions will be paid on the terms prescribed by your Majesty. I have promised this sum upon the express condition that the parliament shall be prorogued for four months ; that the troops should be recalled from Flanders, and that those which are newly levied shall be disbanded. It was impossible for me to dispense with consenting that 3000 men of the new troops, intended to be sent into Scotland, should be kept on foot ; I resisted a long time : but it did not appear to me to be of great consequence whether the King of England had 3000 men more or less on foot ; and a longer resistance on my part would have given suspicion here, that your Majesty wanted to hinder his Britannick Majesty from re-establishing

establishing his authority in a country which is almost in rebellion.

It was also absolutely impossible to bring the King of England to sign a treaty obliging him to prorogue his parliament and disband his troops, but the expedient that was fallen on produced the same effect ; for I have promised the payment of the sum your Majesty grants him, only after both these conditions shall have been executed : A prorogation of four months (which will not commence till after the two months expressed in the treaty) gives time to work for procuring the dissolution of parliament afterwards, and it will not be easy to resist here what your Majesty shall desire.

There are no secret articles : I have only given a conditional promise, which prevents asking any thing of your Majesty till the conditions are entirely accomplished. The King of England looked upon it as a thing that was of the last consequence in his country, that he should not promise to use his influence with the States General to accept the project of peace ; but he obliges himself to remain neuter in case the project is not accepted in two months, in the form that your Majesty sent it ; and I think this is sufficiently explained in the treaty.

It appears to me that the preface to the treaty is more advantageous to your Majesty, than if the King of England had made it appear that he pressed the States General to accept the project ; it is on the contrary more conformable to the glory and dignity of your Majesty, that it should appear your enemies sought peace through the mediation of his Britannick Majesty.

Mr. de Rouvigny will give your Majesty an account of the dispute maintained by me during many days, to reduce all things even to the manner and the expressions, which your Majesty seemed to want ; but after having obtained the fundamental and essential conditions, I thought it my duty not to let a negotiation languish, the event of which might become doubtful.

Although

Although I was not of opinion that they were in a condition here to prevent the States General from making peace; it might perhaps have been retarded and embarrassed with new difficulties; instead of which, after his Britannick Majesty's treaty, nothing can, in all appearance, hinder the States General from finishing what they have begun. It is always hazardous here, that a parliament, the greatest part of whose members are gained by the court, may take some resolutions of extremity, and give money under the pretence of a war against France. I should enlarge more upon this, if Mr. de Rouvigny, who is fully instructed, was not to give you Majesty an account of things. I thought it was for your service not to defer any longer the conclusion of a treaty, which places your Majesty in an entire certainty of making a peace much more glorious in all its circumstances than any other that has been ever heard of. Your Majesty, who is more enlightened than any body, will also better know the present advantages of it, and those which may be drawn from it for the future.

The King of England desires much that what he has done may remain secret for some time, in order that he may be able to make it appear to parliament, that the States put him under an absolute necessity of making peace, and that he may thereby endeavour to draw some money from them for disbanding the troops. I believe, besides, that his Britannick Majesty is willing that the Prince of Orange should gain some merit in Holland by facilitating the conclusion of the peace, which till now he opposed. I do not doubt but the resolution taken here of making a treaty with your Majesty was communicated to him before-hand. His Britannick Majesty told me that nothing should be said of it to the Dutch ministers here; but I have had too frequent conferences with the lord treasurer for them not to suspect something near the truth.

His Britannick Majesty told me also, that he would send to Brussels to press Mr. de Villafermosa to conclude

clude with your Majesty, and to accept the project of peace.

Although I did not believe that the King of England's design was to miss the opportunity of making a treaty with your Majesty, I have had, nevertheless, within these two days, just reason to fear that the high Treasurer's design was to draw the affair into length, and put off a conclusion. He said to me, that the little experience he had in affairs of the nature of those we treated upon, had obliged him to entreat the King his Master to join some one with him to assist him, and prevent his committing errors; and that his Britannick Majesty had named Mr. Temple, with whom he desired me to confer. I was much surpris'd, but thought I could not directly shew any repugnance. I went next morning to see Mr. Temple, whom I found in bed, feigning to be, or really sick. I judg'd it necessary to make an effort to prevent this obstacle, and press'd the King of England and the duke of York very warmly to conclude, or to break off the treaty. I then threw in every facility that I could, and declared, if they did not accept my offers, that I would not sign more till I had new orders. The duke of York took the affair up with warmth, and made the King of England give me his positive word that the affair should be concluded next day. The duke of York appears greatly desirous to deserve the same share of your Majesty's good graces which he had heretofore: he conducted himself in the negociation as I could wish.

I am,

(Signed) BARILLON.

Charles and the Duke of York kept this treaty a secret from the Prince of Orange; but pleaded the embarrassments which the popular party created to the preparations for the war, as an excuse for their not going into it.

To this purpose there are the following letters from the Duke of York to the Prince of Orange in King William's box.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.——Opposition in parliament prevents the sending over more troops.

London, May 3, 1678.

I DID not write to you last post, having nothing very pleasing to say to you, nor have I now, for things here go very oddly on, and as yet neither house has given any answer or advice upon what his Majesty ordered the Lord Chancellor to say to both houses ; and instead of that, they are in the house of commons finding fault with the treaties, speaking against the ministers, and doing nothing as they should do ; so that one does not know whether they would have peace or war ; which proceeding of theirs has so discouraged the mornied men, that the paymaster of the army has been very much put to it to find money, which is the cause the two regiments designed for Bruges are not yet embarked ; but this day money is sent to them to pay off their quarters, and they will embarke on Monday without fail, and nothing but the same reason will hinder us from sending more over every day ; for now all our men are raised, and the several regiments of horse, foot and dragoons, will be compleat at their several quarters by the end of next week at farthest ; but without a certain prospect of more money, there will be no venturing them beyond sea to starve. I would say more to you, but I have not time to do it, so that I must end, and that with assuring you that you shall always find me very kind to you.

Duke

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—The war must stop on account of the opposition in parliament.—Anxious about the future.

London, May 7, 1678.

I Received this day your's of the 3d from the Hague; and before now you will have had an answer to what Mr. Van Lewen brought hither, by the which you will have seen what our intentions were here; but now I believe you will be very much surprized and troubled at what has passed this day in the house of commons; when, instead of doing what they should do for the publick good, they have fallen upon all the ministers, and ordered an address to be prepared for his Majesty, to desire they may be removed from his person, to which they have by name added the Duke of Lauderdale; so that you see how affairs are like to go here, and that there will be no possibility of carrying on the war now, that the factious party in the house of commons does prevail; it is necessary for me to say this to you, that you may take your measures accordingly, and you must expect to hear of great disorders here, they are not to be avoided. I have not time to say more it being very late, only you may be assured I shall ever be as kind to you as you can expect. You shall be sure to hear from me every post.

The Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—The popular party intend to engage the King in a war, and leave him in it without helping him.

London, May 10, 1678.

IN my last I gave you an account of the ill condition of our affairs here, which grow worse every day, and this day the house of commons have compleated their address to his Majesty for the removing from him at once all his ministers; to which they have added by name the Duke of Lauderdale; which is
O such

such a way of proceeding as will discourage all the allies, and make us here not know almost what to do, and this is but the forerunner of worse things ; so that I do not see how the war can be carried on, it being visible that the chief design of the ill people here, is to engage the King in a war, that they may the easier ruin him, so that I believe we shall be forced to a peace. I do not say that it is positively resolved on, and therefore thought it very necessary to let you know so much, that you may take your measures accordingly. It is late, and the post ready to go, so that I can say no more for fear my letter should come too late. Rouvigny is come from the French army, I have but just seen him, and by the next I shall say more to you upon that subject ; and now I must end, which I shall always do with assuring you of the continuance of my kindness.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Fault of parliament makes peace necessary.—His anxiety about the future.

London, May 14, 1678.

I GAVE you an account in my two last of the state of affairs as they then were, which are not at all mended since ; for the address I mentioned in one of mine was brought on Saturday last to his Majesty by the commons, which so offended his Majesty, that the answer he gave then to it was, that it was so extravagant an address, that he was not willing speedily to give them the answer it deserved, and when you see a copy of it, you will find it did not deserve a better answer ; and yesterday, to shew his farther displeasure to the commons, he prorogued both houses till the 23d of this month, in hopes by that time to bring them into a better temper, and had they continued sitting longer now, they would yet have been more troublesome. You see the temper we are in, and I have but a very ill prospect of affairs, and expect great disorders here, or at least great difficulties, so that it will be all
we

we can do to keep things quiet at home ; it is necessary for me to say this to you, that you may not take wrong measures. The King will write to you himself, so that it is not necessary for me to say more upon that subject, nor of any thing else, but to assure you of the continuance of my kindness.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.——Advises him to peace.——Past and present state of things in England.——His anxiety for the future.

London, May 21. 1678.

I Received this afternoon your's of the 26th from Honslardike, by the which I see you are resolved to stay thereabouts till you hear whether the French will accept of the suspension of arms. I think you do very well in it, for besides there is but little good to be done or hoped for in Flanders ; I look upon your presence at the Hague to be very necessary, especially when the answer comes from the French by the Deputies you have sent to them ; for by what I hear from all hands, and even by what you said to Mr. Hyde, that the generality of the people, as well as some of the chief men among the States, are very much for a peace, or else those steps would not have been made that have been made by them ; and that being so, I would not have any thing of that kind be done in your absence ; and since you see there is no possibility of carrying on the war as things now stand, in my opinion you ought not to appear against peace, but ought to go along with the inclinations of the people, and not lose your interest with them by opposing the peace, which will be whether you will or no ; for as to Spain, you know as well as I the miserable condition they are in ; and as to us here, you see how little is to be expected from hence by what past the other day in the last session ; so that his Majesty was forced to prorogue them, and now they are to meet again on Thursday, and I fear they will be very disorderly, and that it will be all we can

do to keep things quiet here at home ; for now the ill men in the house strike directly at the King's authority ; and should we have been engaged in a war now, they would have so imposed upon the King, as to leave him nothing but the empty name of a King, and no more power than a Duke of Venice ; and how long they would have let him have that name, the Lord knows : I am sure it would not have been long. I say this to you, to let you see how necessary peace is, and how impossible it is for you to carry on the war. - You see his Majesty was very willing to have entered into the war, and did his part towards it, and has now actually ready all his land forces, and by the end of this month or the beginning of the next, will have ninety ships at sea : but you see the parliament, I should say the house of commons, in five months time have done nothing towards it, but given the poll bill, which may be worth three hundred thousand pounds once paid, and taken away so much a year ; and instead of giving any farther supply, have done nothing but fallen upon the ministers, and declared they would give no more money till they had satisfaction in matters of religion : what effects such proceedings have had where you are you know best, and how they will end nobody knows. I could not help saying all this to you, to inform you how things are here, that you may take your measures accordingly, and not run on in measures that may be very prejudicial to our family ; and as things now are, the continuance of the war would, in my opinion, both ruin you in Holland, and us here. You see I speak my mind very freely to you, I am obliged to do it out of the kindness and concern I have for you. I know such a peace as is offered is a very hard one both for you and us to submit to ; however, I see no remedy : And do not exasperate France, that may be of use to you. Pray let nobody see this letter, it is only wrote for you, and not fit for any body else to read or to know. I say so much to you ; 'tis only my kindness has made me write it, and you may be sure I shall always continue it to you.

Duke

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange. — To the same purpose.

London, May 24, 1678.

I HAVE just now received yours of the 31, from the Hague, and it is now so very late that I have time to say little to you. I see you wish more troops might be sent over into Flanders if they were ready, which they are, and have been all complete for some time ; but the want of money has been such, that we could send over no more than those who are already there, which are 56 companies ; and it has been with much difficulty that we got money enough to send down one regiment of foot, four troops of horse, and three of dragoons, into the north, being apprehensive of some disorders in Scotland ; and to shew you how little regard is had to what is doing beyond sea, the house of commons have done nothing these two days, and believe to-morrow they will fall upon finding fault with the chancellor's speech ; so little are their minds turned to what they should be, and I believe will fly higher than ever ; so that you see it has not been his Majesty's fault things have not gone as they should. It is so late that I must end, and that I shall do with assuring you that you shall always find me very kind to you.

The Duke of York to the Prince of Orange. — The Commons want the new-raised troops disbanded. — The Duke wants them kept on foot.

London, May 31, 1678.

THE letters are not yett come from Holland, so that we do not know how, what Mons. Van Bevering has brought to you, will be received, though no doubt is made of the acceptance of the cessation of arms by every body here, and the house of commons are very earnest for the immediate disbanding of all the new-raised troops, as you will see by the vote they have

made for that purpose; and this day they have busied themselves to make the calculation of what money will be necessary for the paying them off; which I thinke is very contrary to what ought to be done, and all the reasonable men I speake with are of the same opinion. To morrow they are to consider of lord Chancellor's speech; some say they will run into heats upon it, and fall upon him and some other of the ministers; I cannot say they will, to-morrow will shew us. You see by all that is done here in how unfit a temper we were to have entered into a war, for all the new raised troops are better than could have been expected, and I never saw so many good looked new men in my life, and I could not have believed the horse could have been so good as they are; 'tis pity they should be disbanded; which is all I shall now say to you, but that you shall always find me very kind to you.

The backwardness of England made the Dutch take measures for a separate peace with France.

Upon this the duke of York wrote the following ambiguous letter to the Prince of Orange, still concealing from him the secret engagement of England with France. The letter is in King William's box.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.——About the separate peace between Holland and France.——An ambiguous letter.

London, June 7, 1678.

I RECEVED yours of the 7 but this last post, it should have come the post before; and not only yours, but all the letters from the Hague had the same fortune, by what accident I know not, for the letters from all the other towns in Holland came as they ought, and had we not received letters by expresse from the embassador there, we should have been in paine; and you cannot imagine how many foolish and malicious reports

reports went about town by reason of missing the letters of that post from the Hague. I see by your letter you are very apprehensive of the ill consequence this peace may have where you are, as well as to us here. I know it is to be apprehended, as well as it could not be avoided, and it is well done to foresee dangers afar off, to provide the best one can against them; but as one does see them, so one must endeavour to provide the best one can against them, and to prepare one's self for the worst that may happen, not to be surpris'd if it should come to passe, but then one must not despaire and give over the game: and I am of opinion, if you take pains where you are to preserve your interest, and keep up your friends hearts, by being amongst them in the Hague, and not so much in the country, I am confident the faction which is against you will be able to do you little harme. You see I say my mind very freely to you, and am obliged to do it by the concerne I have for you. I have not time to say more to you now, but Sir W. Temple will be soon over with you, whom I shall instruct well with what is too long for a letter; in the meane time you may be assured that I shall continue as kind to you as you can desire.

After Louis the XIVth had bought off Charles, and entered into a separate treaty with the Dutch, he thought he might behave as he pleased with regard to Spain, and therefore, instead of delivering up the Spanish towns in Flanders as he had agreed to do, he insisted to keep possession of them until satisfaction should be made to his allies the Swedes. This breach of faith raised the indignation of almost all Europe against him, and clamours came from every quarter for Charles to join in a war with the allies for the preservation of the Netherlands.

Charles upon this once more seemed intent to join in a war against France, sent Sir William Temple to make
O 4 a treaty

a treaty with Holland, who, with the same rapidity with which he had finished the triple alliance, and perhaps as little to the liking of his master, concluded in six days a treaty with the Dutch to make war upon France, if in two months she did not, without any regard to the interests of Sweden, evacuate the Spanish towns. But it is probable that Charles meant to make use of this apparent inclination for war, only to keep up his forces, to get money from parliament, and to squeeze more money from France. The journals of parliament during this summer and autumn shew his struggles to disband his army and to get more supplies, under the pretence of his intending to join in a war against France. It appears from Barillon's dispatches, that Barillon several times gave warning to his court that more money would be asked from it. On the 23d July, 1671, he writes, that Charles had sent Lord Sunderland to France to make a compromise about Sweden. On the 28th July, 1678, he writes thus: —“ Je suis persuadé que toutes les démonstrations de guerre que se font icy se termineront par un Traité, si votre Majesté veut donner des subsides pour faire agir l'Angleterre en faveur de la Suede.” —“ I am persuaded that all demonstrations of war which are made here will terminate in a Treaty, if your Majesty will give subsidies to make England act in favour of Sweden.” On the 1st of August Barillon writes, that Charles is endeavouring to form a treaty with France to get satisfaction for Sweden.

About the same time, Lord St. Alban's at Paris, by his master's command, presented a project to Louis for a treaty between France and England in favour of Sweden, in consideration of which Charles was to get money for supporting a fleet and army. The project of the treaty follows.

Propositions

Propositions faites par le Milord Saint Alban.

QUE sa Majesté très Chrétienne donnera trois an- *In the Depot,*
nées de subsides, dont la première sera de six
millions, et les deux autres de quatre millions chacune ;
moyennant quoi sa Majesté Britannique fournira quinze
vaisseaux et dix mille hommes de pied, pour joindre
aux vaisseaux et aux troupes de sa Majesté très Chrétienne,
qui agiront en faveur des Suédois ; que ses
quinze vaisseaux seront armés et équipés aux frais de
sa Majesté très Chrétienne, et ne sera tenu sa Majesté
Britannique de fournir que le corps des vaisseaux, et
le nombre des canons suffisant pour chacun à propor-
tion de sa grandeur. Les dix mille hommes d'infan-
terie seront payés par sa Majesté très Chrétienne com-
me les troupes Angloises qui étoient cy devant à sa
solde ; que la paix se fera conformément au projet ; que
la difficulté sur le pays de Cleves se terminera à la satis-
faction des États Généraux : en cas que les dits États
Généraux, ou les Espagnols ne fassent pas la paix sur
le projet entre cy et trois mois, sa Majesté Britannique
demeurera dans une entière neutralité, et rappellera
ses troupes qui sont aux Pays-bas.

On ajoute à ces propositions, qu'il se fasse une ligue
entre l'Angleterre, les États Généraux et la Suede pour
la garantie du traité de paix, et pour maintenir les Pays-
bas en l'état qu'ils sont ; dans laquelle ligue on croit
que la France entrera, parceque sa Majesté très Chrétienne
a témoigné qu'elle vouloit guerir à l'avenir tous
les soupçons que l'Angleterre et les États Généraux
pourroient avoir que son dessein ne fût d'achever la
conquête des Pays-bas à la première occasion.

Translation.

Translation.

Proposals made by my Lord St. Alban.——— England to get a subsidy for three years.——— Is to maintain a fleet and army at the expence of France in favour of Sweden.——— And to be neutral in Flanders,

THAT his most Christian Majesty shall give a subsidy for three years, the first of which shall be six millions, and the other two four millions each; in consideration whereof his Britannick Majesty shall furnish fifteen ships and ten thousand foot to join the ships and troops of his most Christian Majesty which are to act in favour of the Swedes: that these fifteen ships shall be armed and equipped at his most Christian Majesty's expence, and his Britannick Majesty shall only furnish the bodies of the ships, and the number of cannon necessary for each, in proportion to the largeness of rate. The ten thousand infantry shall be paid by his most Christian Majesty as the English troops were which heretofore were in his pay; that the peace shall be made conformable to the project; that the difficulty about the country of Cleves shall be terminated to the satisfaction of the States General: in case the said States General, or the Spaniards do not make peace upon the project within three months, his Britannick Majesty will remain in an entire neutrality, and recall his troops that are in the Low Countries.

To these proposals is added, that a league should be made between England, the States General and Sweden for the guarantee of the treaty of peace, and maintaining the Low Countries in the state they were in, into which league it is thought France will enter, because his most Christian Majesty hath shewn he is willing to prevent for the future, all suspicions which England and the States General might have that his
design

design was upon the first opportunity to finish the conquest of the Low Countries.

On the 8th August, 1678, Barillon writes thus: — *In the Depot.*
 “ Il (Danby) m’a représenté que la guerre l’Angleterre feroit pour les Suedes, étoit entierement opposé aux sentimens de toute la nation, et qu’ ainsi son maitre ne la pouvoit entreprendre sans de grandes secours de votre Majesté.” — “ He (Danby) represented to me that the war which England was to make in favour of the Swedes was entirely against the sentiments of the whole nation, and therefore his master could not undertake it without great succours from your Majesty.”

It is highly probable that France made use of these proposals of Charles for a treaty in favour of Sweden, to disappoint the treaty which Sir William Temple had lately made with the Dutch for forcing France to deliver up the towns in Flanders without attending to the interests of Sweden. From Sir William Temple’s account of affairs at this time, it appears that Du Cros, the Duke of Holstein’s envoy, disappointed this treaty by bringing news from the court of England into Holland of the connections of France and England in favour of Sweden. I did not see evidence in Barillon’s letters that Barillon made use of Du Cros for this purpose. But the following circumstances make it probable: Several of Barillon’s dispatches shew that Du Cros was in the year 1678 in the pay of France, and in the most intimate intelligence with Barillon. From Lord Danby’s letters which are printed, it appears that Charles was enraged at Du Cros for the intelligence he had carried. Sir William Temple relates that Charles said to him, “ The rogue Du Cros has outwitted us all;” words, the consequence of which Temple did not perceive, because he was ignorant of the secret traffick of Charles with France concerning Sweden, to which they alluded. The Dutch, in-
 formed

In the Depot.

formed of the secret connections between Charles and Louis, instantly quitted the dangerous friendship of the first of these Princes, and in a hurry signed the peace of Nimeguen. And perhaps what shews as strong as any thing the consciousness of France of the low pass to which she had reduced Charles by betraying his double conduct to his allies, is, that when Charles asked payment of the first part of his pension provided for him by the above treaty of 27 May, 1678, France refused to pay him a penny. Barillon writes to his court on the 18th of August, 1678, that Lord Danby had asked payment of the pension stipulated; that he, Barillon, told him, that Charles had not kept his part of the terms of the treaty, and therefore was to have none of the pension. This letter, with two others of the 25th and 29th August, 1678, describes the anger of Charles and lord Danby at losing the money by their own imprudence. In the letter of the 18th August, Barillon uses these words: — “ On connoit presentement avec beaucoup de deplaisir qu'on a laissé passer une conjoncture dont il étoit fort aisé de profiter.” — “ They know now with much vexation, that they have lost a conjuncture of which it was easy for them to have profited.”

The letters from the Duke of York to the Prince of Orange immediately after France had refused to evacuate the towns till satisfaction was made to Sweden, and during the time of the secret negociation with France to serve Sweden, are in King William's box. Perhaps they may create some doubt of that sincerity in the duke's character which he used so much to boast of, because they convey the idea to the Prince of Orange, that the Duke was equally zealous for the war against France at both these periods. The letters follow.

Duke

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange. — His surprise at hearing the French have refused to evacuate the towns. — Disbanding the army stopped.

I HAD not time to write to you last post as I intended, having been kept so long at business that night, that when we had done it was too late to write; since when we have been very much alarmed by a letter from Sir L. Jenkins, in which he says the French make a difficulty of restoring the towns in Flanders to the Spaniards, till the Swedes have entire satisfaction; and now we are in very great expectation of the letters, which should have come this day, to know if the French persist still in that, their so unreasonable demand: in the mean time we have done our parts, as if it were so, for we have stopped twenty entire companies of foot of the new-raised men, and five hundred commanded men, that were ordered to go for Ireland, till we know the certainty of it. A courier also was sent yesterday to the ambassador at Paris to know the truth on't, and to expostulate the matter if so: and this day in the house of lords we have lengthened the time of the disbanding the new-raised troops, and I hope the house of commons will agree to that alteration, and before that time we shall in all likelihood know what to trust to. It is late, and I have not time to say more, only to assure you of the continuance of my kindness to you, &c.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange. — Appears keen for war because towns not evacuated.

London, June 24, 1678.

THIS goes to you by Lord Ossory, whom the letters we had both from Nimeguen and the Hague, about the so unreasonable difficulties the French make, has hastened over to you, not knowing how soon you may fall into action again; and truly I expect it, for

as the temper the King of France is, I do not thinke he would have let his ambassador at Nimeguen make those difficulties without his being resolved to stand by it, so that I look upon the war as certain if in Holland you do your parts, which I cannot doubt on, for his Majesty will stick firm to you for the restoring of those towns to the Spaniard, as you will find by Sir William Temple, whom his Majesty is dispatching away to you full instructed upon all that great affair; and I am glad we have had this time to exercise our new troops, for they are now much better than they were, and all know the use of their arms very well. Pray have a care of Dendermond as well as Antwerp; what else I have to say I refer to this bearer, and be assured I shall always be as kind to you as you can desire.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—To the same purpose.

London, June 25, 1678.

WHEN I wrote this enclosed to you, I thought Lord Ossory would have gone, but now Godolphin's coming with some other reasons have hindered his going now; however, I send you this letter because I have but little time left me, it being very late. I am glad to hear your resolutions have been so vigorous; we shall stand by you for the restoring of the towns in Flanders and Maestricht, and are getting ready five battalions of foot to send to Bruges and Newport, which I hope will have a good effect always: they will be of eight companies each. I have not time to say more now.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Sir William Temple sent to make a treaty with the Dutch.

London, June 27, 1678.

IT is not necessary for me to say much to you by this bearer, Sir Wm. Temple, he going so fully instructed

ed to you from his Majesty upon the affairs that are now in agitation, and I am confident you will be satisfied with what he has to say to you from his Majesty; and you will find how firmly you will be stuck to in case France does not acquiesce with what they had offered you; and let them now do what they please; I am confident it will have done them no good, and you will find your advantage by it; and I need not put you in mind of laying hold of this advantage they have given you, for I am sure you have done it already, and I hope you will not be so much out of the Hague as you have been for some time past; for I know by experience that nothing can do one so much good as being upon the place where all the business is done, when by being away one loses opportunities that may advance one's affairs, and cannot gain friends as may be as necessary for you as well as others. I have spoken my mind very freely to this bearer upon this affair, and refer it to him to enlarge upon it; for I am so concerned for you that I must say any thing to you that I think to be for your good, for you shall always find me as kind to you as you can desire.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—To the same purpose.

London, June 27, 1678.

I COULD not refuse this bearer, Mr. Van Leewen, to write to you by him, though I have already done it by Sir Wm. Temple; his Majesty having thought fit he should go back into Holland, the better to persuade the States of his readiness to stick by them in case France continue in their unreasonable demands; and I hope his going at this time will have a very good effect; since I find he is now of the mind he should be. It is not necessary for me to say more by him, and shall end with assuring you of the continuance of my kindness.

Duke

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Troops sent over.—The parliament is giving money.

London, July 5, 1678.

THE Holland letters are not yet come; I long very much for them, being in pain to know how my daughter does; having heard by the last letters that she had not been well. You will before this have had Sir William Temple and M. Van Leewen with you, and I hope they will have satisfied both you and the States with his Majesty's good intentions to stick by you, if you will take vigorous resolutions, which I hope you will, notwithstanding the loss M. de Loraine has had of some of the troops endeavouring to relieve Reinfeld; of which before this you know the particulars; but we are not informed of them, and if it has no ill effect where you are, I am sure it will have none here; and in my mind it ought to make you adhere firmly to your resolutions; for else at Vienna it might have an ill effect. This day a battalion of eight companies embarked at Blackwall for Newport, and this day also another sets sail from Portsmouth for the same place, and three battalions more will be embarked by Tuesday next for Newport and Bruges; so that when they are landed, we shall have ninety-six companies of foot in Flanders, which will make upwards of 9000 men, and when it is necessary, more shall be ready to follow. The parliament draws now to an end, and will I hope conclude well, for many of the angry men are gone out of town, and I am told the money bill will come up to the Lords on Monday or Tuesday next, and when that is once past, we shall soon rise. I have not time to say more, only to assure you that you shall always find me as kind to you as you can desire.

Duke

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Waits for steps to be taken by the Dutch.

London, July 8, 1678.

I RECEIVED last night your's of the 12th from the Hague, and can now say but little to you in answer to it, only that if you do your parts we shall do ours, so that it absolutely depends upon what is done where you are; for it is not to be expected that we should make any farther step till we are sure of you, which I hope is done by this upon Sir William Temple's arrival with you. I write this by Lord Ossory, who is just a-going away; he can inform you of all things here, so that I shall say no more, only to assure you of the continuance of my kindness.

Pray have a care of Antwerp and Dendermond."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—To the same purpose.

London, July 12, 1678.

"WE have been so busy all this day, that till now I have not had one moment's time to write, and now it is so late that I shall not be able to say all I have a mind to say to you. We expect, with great impatience, the next letters, which should be here this night, but the wind having been contrary we cannot hope for them before to-morrow, for all things depend upon the resolution where you are, for here we are all ready, and the money bill is past, which is all we could expect till we be actually entered into the war. We shall, I believe, end this sessions on Monday next, but though I believe we shall not meet till towards winter, yet the houses will, I think, only be adjourned for a fortnight or three weeks, so that if there should be need for them sooner than towards winter we might have them: this is only my opinion, but will not be positively
P resolved

resolved on till Sunday. Mr. Montague is in disgrace, and his Majesty ordered this day his name to be put off the council book, and is sending immediately away lord Sunderland, ambassador to Paris, in his room. I have not time to say more, it being so late, and therefore must end, which I shall always do with assuring you of the continuance of my kindness."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Desires plan of war to be adjusted.

London, July 17, 1678.

"**W**E have been so encouraged by the last letters from Holland, and see such likelihood of the war, that his Majesty has desired this bearer, the marquis de Bourgmain, to go over to you to agree with you and the duke de Villahermoza, of the plan of the war for the remainder of this campaign, in case we enter into it, of which I do not doubt, since I make none of your agreeing to Sir William Temple's proposals; Lord Feversham goes too, so that I need say no more, but to assure you that you shall always find me the same to you."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—To the same purpose.

London, July 18, 1678.

"**H**IS Majesty having thought fit to send Lord Feversham along with the marquis de Bougermaine to you, to adjust all things with you concerning the war in case it continues, as now I believe it will; I would not let him go without writing to you by him, though he be fully instructed of all things here; what I have to say I refer to him, and have also charged him to assure you of the continuance of my kindnesse to you."

Duke

*Duke of York to the Prince of Orange. — Promises
vigor in the war.*

London, July 19, 1678.

“ I RECEIVED this afternoon two of yours, of the 19 and 26; by the last of which I was very glad to find the treaty was signed, but there are some things wanting in it, and others which will require being explained, as you will know more at large from Sir W. Temple, to which I am sure you will give your helping hand that they may be agreed to; in the mean time we are sending over, as fast as we can, two thousand horse and dragoons, but you cannot expect them at soonest till after the term prefixed be expired, we having not those conveniences here that you have where you are for embarking of horses, and till the war be declared we cannot let you have any of our foot to join your army, which cannot be till those points you will hear off be agreed to; in the mean time no time shall be lost in preparing every thing to carry on the war with vigor, which is all I have time to say to you now, only to assure you that I shall ever be very kind to you.”

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange. — To the same purpose. — Is to go over with the troops himself, if needful.

London, July 26, 1678.

“ I RECEIVED two days since your's from Vilvorde, by the which I see you were come to your army, and were resolved to see what could be done for the redeeming of Mons. I hope upon the intelligence you have had of their being able to hold out some time, that you will not yet hazard any thing, and the M. de Bourgemaine and the Earl of Feversham, who have been with you before this, will have persuaded you to it, in case the place be no more prest than we hear it is; and that which makes me more desirous you should

not yet hazard any thing, is, that upon his Majesty having read your letter, he has commanded me to tell you, that he will get in readiness what troops can be spared from hence, besides those that are already in Flanders; to join with you in case the French do not conclude the peace in the time prefixed, being resolved if they will not evacuate the towns to prosecute the war vigorously; and that no time may be lost, in case it must be war, the Duke of Monmouth is to go from hence on Sunday for Bruges to have the troops that are already there in readiness to march if the war goes on; and I shall take care for the embarking of those that are yet here as soon as possible, and be ready to go over with them myself if occasion be. It was thought necessary to let you know this, even before we heard from Lord Feversham, that you might take your measures accordingly. We have now ready in Flanders fourteen battalions of foot, as many of which shall be ready to march at a day's warning if the peace be not made; as you and the Spaniards shall think fit; besides which, we have two battalions of foot more, and 3000 horse and dragoons to be embarked from hence by the end of next week: the horse and dragoons you may reckon to be effective, and each battalion of foot to be about seven hundred. When my nephew comes to Bruges you will hear from him, which is all I shall say now to you."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—More troops sent over.

London, July 29, 1678.

"I RECEIVED your's from the camp at Grimberg of the 2d of August, before Lord Feversham came hither; and last night my nephew the Duke of Monmouth went for Ostend, and the wind is so fair I hope he may be there by this time, with orders to draw out eight battalions of foot of those we have in Flanders, which are fourteen, and make what haste he can with them to you; we also send two battalions more from
hence

hence strait for Antwerp, which I hope will be embarked on Wednesday: you see we do all we can, and lose no time. I wish they may come time enough to you, but fear they cannot. This morning Lord Feverham and the Marquis de Bourgemaine came hither, and upon what they have said from you, have put a stop to the embarking of our 3000 horse and dragoons till we hear farther from you, but shall still keep them in readiness. You are like to have so much business upon your hands that I shall say no more, but that you shall always find me kind to you."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—More troops to go over.—Affects ignorance about Sweden.

London, August 2, 1678.

"**H**IS Majesty has commanded me to write to you about one Freeman, by whom some time since he had written to you; he says he thought then he would have served him as he ought, but now he finds him to be a great villain, and one that plays foul play both with you and him; but however, you are not to take notice of it, only to have a care of him, and to have an eye upon him. I received your's from Cappel of the 4th of August, and by this time you will know that the ratification of the treaty went away last post; so that you shall find that nothing shall be wanting on our side; but by the last letters from Holland we have heard what the Swedes have done, and that most people there look upon the peace as certain; however we here shall not look upon it as done till all be concluded, and our two battalions that were to go from hence will embark on Sunday and Monday for Antwerp. The Flanders' post is not yet come, and I have been abroad a-hunting this day, so that I have not time to say more, only to assure you I shall always be as kind to you as you can desire."

Disappointed in this manner both of the money for the treaty of neutrality, and of the money for the assistance of Sweden, Charles broke off his connexions with France, sent a greater army to Flanders, and endeavoured by the strongest promises of assistance, but in vain, to animate the Dutch to disregard the treaty they had just signed, and to prevent other powers from acceding to it. During four short months after the Dutch had signed the peace of Nimeguen, Charles was for once in his life sincerely an enemy to France.

During this period there are the following letters from the Duke of York to the Prince of Orange in King William's box.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—His surprize and anger at the Dutch signing the peace at Nimeguen, —Affects ignorance about Sweden.

London, Sunday night, Aug. 4, 1678.

“WE were very much surprized this day to hear by an exprefs from Nimeguen, that the peace was signed only by the Dutch and French without the Spaniards, and that the mediators had refused to sign, though offered by them, to have their hand in such a separate peace. I believe it was what you did not expect no more than we, and the manner of it was extraordinary, and what M. Bevering said upon his signing it; and by what we hear, the Swedes seem not to be pleased at it. For my part, it has so stunned me I do not know what to say upon it, nor guess what will follow upon it. I long very much to hear from you after your having heard of it. In the mean time, we do not put a stop to the embarking of the troops designed from hence, not knowing what may happen, for the two battalions that were designed to go from hence will be on ship-board by Tuesday next, and the horse and dragoons which were ordered to be ready, will be all this week at the waterside, and ready to go on ship-board

board at twenty-four hours warning. His Majesty has also ordered his troops that are by this time with you to continue with you, or to go back into Flanders from whence they came, as you shall find most expedient, which is all I have to say to you till I hear from you upon this affair, which so turns my head as I do hardly know what to say, except it be to assure you that I shall always be as kind to you as you can desire."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.——Congratulates him on the battle fought after the peace.——Promises assistance.

London, Aug. 12, 1678:

"I READ with a great deal of satisfaction your's of the 16th, in which you give an account of what you had done near Mons, for I received it but on Saturday night; and before that by the way of France, we had heard of your having been engaged, so that until I received your's, I was in great pain for you, and that day's action; but now I am at ease for both, and very much pleased for what you have done, for by what I hear from all sides, it was a very bold and vigorous action, and as bravely carried on. I am very glad you are so well satisfied with Lord Ossory and his Majesty's subjects, and that they behaved themselves so well. I hope those that before this are come to you will not discredit the nation. I am glad my nephew the Duke of Monmouth had the good fortune to be with you; he has done justice to your troops, and given the highest commendation to your foot guards and dragoons that can be, and which they deserve. We are very impatient for the to-morrow's letters, and hope to hear you have gained your point and relieved Mons. His Majesty has dispatched away Mr. Hyde to the Hague; and I believe you will not be displeased with the instruction he carries, the substance of which you will have in cypher from the Lord Treasurer; so that I shall not repeat it to you, by which you will see we do our parts, and that

you shall always have reason to believe me as kind to you as you can desire."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.——To the same purpose.

London, Aug, 13, 1678.

"I RECEIVED this morning your's of the 20th from your camp near Revs, by the which I was very glad to find you had obtained your end without a second engagement, which has been much for your honour, and I hope will set all things to rights where you are going. Before you receive this, you will have seen Mr. Hyde, and found that what you desired was done by advance; and I am sure you will have been pleased with the orders he carried, and you may be sure that nothing shall be wanting on our side, which that you may see, we shall send over with all possible speed three thousand horse and dragoons, and three battalions of foot into Flanders; it will be eight days before the first can embarke, but the foot shall go sooner. We tell them here they shall go for Brabant to join your army, because we would not have the French know they are to go to Flanders before they be landed there, which when they shall know, will oblige them to fill their garrisons on that side, and by that means weaken their main army. We go to-morrow morning early to Windsor, but that shall not hinder any of our preparations, for you shall find we shall be very vigorous in standing by you, and you shall have reason to believe me kinder to you than ever."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange. — Despairs of the French making peace.

Windsor, August 19, 1678.

"THIS bearer tells me he will be with you as soon as the post, so that I will answer by him yours of the 23 from the Hague; and according to what

what you wrote about a general suspension of arms, his Majesty has sent orders to his plenipotentiary at Nimeguen to propose it; but I doubt the French know too well the advantage they have to agree to it, unless they have more mind to a peace than I believe they have. We are in very great impatience to hear what resolutions you will have taken upon Mr. Hyde's arrival; I am sure you will be satisfied with the orders he carried, by which you will have seen we shall do our parts here, and you may be always assured of the continuance of my kindness to you."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.——More troops sent over.——Is to go over himself.

Windſor, Aug. 20, 1678.

"**I** WROTE yesterday to you, but this will be sooner with you, and therefore shall give you an account of the troops designed for Flanders, which will begin to embarke on Monday next, and wind and weather permitting, may be all landed at Ostend by the end of that week: They are composed of 27 troops of horse, 60 in each troop; 12 troops of dragoons, of 80 a-piece; and two battalions of foot, of 9 companies in each. The earl of Feversham goes over to command them, and he goes over before, himself, this week to prepare their quarters, and by that time the cessation will be ended. I hope the horse will be refreshed and ready for any service if there be need of them; and if the war goes on, you will consider whether it will be best for the service for them to stay there in Flanders or to join your army, or to have those foot of ours, which are already with your army, come back into Flanders, to see to make a diversion on that side now that Mons is relieved. I thought it necessary to mention this to you, that you may have in your thoughts how to dispose of them for the best of the service, for they shall be disposed on as you think best, and pray let me know when it may be proper for me to go over myself, and then I shall

shall bring some more troops with me. Lord Feversham will write to you so soon as he is on the other side of the water. I long very much to hear what resolutions are taken at the Hague; I hope they will be to both of our satisfactions; which is all I have to say, but to assure you of the continuance of my kindnesse to you."

The Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.——More troops sent.——He is himself to go.

Windfor, Aug. 23, 1678.

"SINCE I wrote last to you his Majesty has altered his mind as to the place where he will send those troops I mentioned to you, and instead of sending them into Flanders, has ordered them up the Scheld to land near Antwerp, and so to march towards the army to join it after they have refreshed themselves a little. This was resolved upon the Duke of Monmouth's representing to his Majesty, that you had rather have the foot that is now to go, to join your army than to go for Bruges; and besides that, that the whole country of Flanders was now so sickly, that certainly these troops which are now going over would soon have been rendered in as ill a condition to serve as those that are there already; whereas, going into Brabant, and to join the army, we hope they may not be so sickly. But before this resolution was taken, the two Spanish ministers were advised with about it, and have written to the Duke de Villahermosa to advertise him of it. The troops will begin to embark on Monday or Tuesday at farthest, and Lord Feversham goes a day or two before to prepare things for them. We had a very large account last post from Mr. Hyde, of what had then past upon his coming, and are very impatient for the next letters to know what resolutions will be taken, which I wish may be vigorous ones, and then I may hope to be soon with you on the other side of the water;
which

which is all I have to say, but that you may always depend upon my kindnesse."

But while Charles was spending his anger every where in vain against France, she was secretly preparing a mine to blow up his minister and expose himself, by getting one of his own servants to lay before parliament one of those secret money transactions, into which she had herself drawn him. The beginning of the intrigue of Mr. Mountagu's attack upon Lord Danby in parliament, is to be found in the following dispatch of Barillon to Louis the XIVth.

Lettre de Mr. de Barillon au Roi, du 24 Octobre, 1678.

Sire,

"**M**R. de Montaigu et moi avons eû beaucoup In the *De par.* d'occasions de parler de l'état présent des affaires. Je n'ai pas crû lui devoir entierement cacher les raisons que votre Majesté a d'être mal satisfaite de la conduite que la cour d'Angleterre a tenue à son égard depuis quelque tems, qui lui étoient déjà assez connues : Cela l'a engagé à me parler ouvertement et à me dire, qu'il étoit en son pouvoir de perdre le grand Trésorier, et qu'il l'attaqueroit dans le parlement, et l'accuseroit de trahison, s'il étoit assuré de la protection et de la bienveillance de votre Majesté dans les suites que cette accusation peut avoir. Il prétend prouver par les lettres de ce ministre, qu'il lui avoit ordonné de la part de sa Majesté Britannique de demander à votre Majesté une somme de 18 millions. et de lui déclarer que c'étoit le seul moyen de l'empêcher de se joindre à vos ennemis, et que sans cela il seroit obligé d'entrer dans la ligue contre la France, et de lui déclarer la guerre. Il prétend que le refus d'obéir à un ordre si extraordinaire et si déraisonnable, et qui étoit donné à l'insçu des secrétaires d'Etat, lui à attiré l'inimitié de ce ministre ; et qu'il

qu'il lui sera facile de faire voir au parlement à quel dessein on vouloit avoir 18 millions, et on connoitra aussi en même tems que votre Majesté n'a pas voulu entrer dans les projets qui se faisoient pour l'oppression de l'Angleterre et pour le changement du gouvernement. Mr. de Montaigu croit que cette accusation ruinera infailliblement le grand Trésorier. Je n'ai pas crû devoir refuser d'écouter une proposition dont les suites peuvent être conformes aux intentions de votre Majesté. Il n'y a point de plus grand embarras pour le Roi d'Angleterre que de voir attaquer un homme qui a toute la confiance. Si cette accusation peut avoir quelque succès, il faudra que sa Majesté Britannique tombe dans de grands inconveniens en soutenant ou en abandonnant son premier ministre. On ne sauroit jamais s'assurer de rien en ce pays ci : mais cette accusation ne peut être entièrement inutile parcequ'elle n'est pas destituée de fondement, et que selon les apparences Mr. de Montaigu ne la tenteroit pas qu'il ne vit quelque jour pour y réussir. Nous avons parlé à fond des moyens dont il prétend se servir pour venir à bout de son dessein. Je ne puis répondre que ses mesures soient sûres, mais il espere être secondé par beaucoup de gens considérables qui se joindront à lui : il ne croit pas cependant pouvoir soutenir le poids d'une telle entreprise, si votre Majesté ne veut aussi y contribuer de sa part. Il demande que ce que votre Majesté ne veut aussi y contribuer de sa part. Il demande que ce que votre Majesté feroit pour traverser les desseins de la cour d'Angleterre, et pour empêcher que l'armée ne subsiste, soit employé en même tems à favoriser ce qu'il entreprend. Sa prétention est que votre Majesté voulût bien faire ici un fonds de cent mille francs, qui seroit employé à gagner des voix, et à s'assurer de sept ou huit des principaux de la chambre basse qui appuyeroient l'accusation lorsqu'elle seroit commencée. Cette dépense et l'emploi de cette somme ne se feroit que par ma participation et par mon contentement. Il ne se donneroit rien dont je n'en eusse connu l'utilité auparavant. Que si dans la suite ce projet

projet n'ait aucun succès, et que le grand Trésorier se puisse maintenir et surmonter cette attaque, Mr. de Montaigu se remet à la générosité de votre Majesté de le traiter en la manière qu'elle le jugera à propos, et de lui accorder des marques de sa bienveillance et de sa protection ainsi qu'il lui plaira, et votre Majesté ne sera obligée à rien ; mais si l'accusation réussit et que le grand Trésorier soit perdu, entre cy et six mois, Mr. de Montaigu espere que votre Majesté voudra bien le récompenser du service qu'il lui aura rendu et le dédommager de la perte qu' infailliblement il souffrira dans ses biens et dans ses charges. Le Roi d'Angleterre fera vraisemblablement tous ses efforts pour se venger d'un homme qui l'aura attaqué en la personne de son premier ministre. Mr. de Montaigu m'a demandé en ce cas là que votre Majesté lui fasse payer la somme de cent mille écus, ou que votre Majesté veuille bien lui assurer un fond de 40 mille livres en rente sur l'Hôtel de Ville des dernières qui ont été créées. Il les mettra sous le nom de ceux que votre Majesté aura agréables, et ce fond lui demeurera en propre pour en pouvoir disposer, néanmoins sous le bon plaisir de votre Majesté ; c'est à dire qu'il ne le pourra vendre ni aliéner sans sa permission. Si votre Majesté n'agréee aucune de ses propositions, il se contentera qu'elle lui promette une pension de 50 mille francs sa vie durant. Ainsi il est au choix de votre Majesté de lui donner, ou la somme de cent mille écus une fois payée, ou un fond de quarante mille livres en rentes sur l'Hôtel de Ville, ou une pension de 50 mille francs sa vie durant ; et cela en cas seulement que l'accusation réussisse, et que le Trésorier soit chassé de la cour dans six mois ; car si cela arrive, Mr. de Montaigu ne croit pas être exposé à la haine du Roi d'Angleterre, comme il sera si ce qu'il aura tenté réussit. On prend le tems de six mois, parceque l'on présume que sa Majesté Britannique fera ses efforts pour conserver son ministre, et que d'abord elle voudra le soutenir. Je ne prendrai pas le parti de donner conseil à votre Majesté ; et je dois me contenter d'exécuter avec soin les ordres qu'elle

qu'elle me donnera. Cependant comme votre Majesté m'a commandé de faire mon possible pour susciter des affaires au Roi d'Angleterre, il ne me paroît pas qu'il lui en puisse arriver une plus fâcheuse que celle de voir accuser dans le parlement, un homme sur qui il s'est reposé du soin des affaires et du gouvernement du son état depuis deux ans. Les ennemis du Trésorier qui sont en grand nombre prendront courage, et il n'est pas impossible que Mr. le Duc d'York ne l'abandonne et ne se tourne contre lui. Il pourroit bien arriver que le Roi d'Angleterre prorogeât son parlement aussitôt que le Trésorier sera attaqué, mais s'il le fait, il n'aura point d'argent pour faire subsister l'armée, ni pour licencier. Cela peut l'engager à prendre un parti d'extrémité et à tenter quelque chose de violent. Je doute fort que le succès en fût heureux. Votre Majesté saura bien peser toutes les raisons de part et d'autre, et me commander ce qui est de sa volonté. Quelque parti que votre Majesté prenne, je ne crois pas qu'il en arrive aucun inconvenient à son égard, parcequ'il y va de la tête de Mr. de Montaigne que ce qu'il a traité avec moi soit jamais scû. Je suis, &c.

(Signé). BARILLON.

Translation.

*Letter from Mr. Barillon to Louis the XIVth, October
24, 1698.*

Sire,

“**M**R. Montagu and I have had many occasions of talking upon the present state of affairs. I thought I ought not to hide entirely from him the reasons which your Majesty has to be ill satisfied with the conduct of the court of England to you for some time past, which was already sufficiently known to him: this engaged him to speak openly to me, and to tell me it was in his power to ruin the high treasurer, and that he would attack him in parliament, and accuse him of treason,

treason, if he was assured of the protection and good will of your Majesty in case of the consequences which this accusation might have. He pretends to prove from this minister's letters, that he ordered him on the part of his Britannick Majesty to ask a sum of 18 millions from your Majesty, and to declare that it was the only means to prevent his joining your enemies, and without it that he should be obliged to enter into the league against France, and to declare war against you. He alledges that his refusal to obey so extraordinary and so unreasonable an order, and which was given unknown to the Secretaries of State, drew upon him the enmity of this minister, and that it would be easy for him to shew the parliament for what design 18 millions were wanted; and at the same time the parliament will see that your Majesty was not willing to enter into the schemes which were forming for the oppression of England, and the change of government. Mr. Montagu believes this accusation will infallibly ruin the high Treasurer. I thought I could not refuse hearkening to a proposal, the consequence of which may be conformable to your Majesty's intentions. The King of England can receive no greater embarrassment than to see a man attacked who has all his confidence. If this accusation has any success, his Britannick Majesty must fall into great inconveniencies whether he supports or abandons his prime minister. No one can ever be sure of any thing in this country: but this accusation cannot be entirely fruitless, because it is not destitute of foundation, and according to appearances Mr. Montagu would not attempt it unless he saw some prospect of succeeding. We have discoursed to the bottom concerning the means he intends to make use of to accomplish his design. I cannot answer that his measures are sure, but he hopes to be seconded by many considerable persons who will join him. However he does not believe he shall be able to bear the weight of such an undertaking if your Majesty will not also contribute to it on your part. He asks that whatever your Majesty would

would do to traverse the designs of the court of England, and hinder the keeping up of the army, may be employed at the same time to favour what he undertakes. His demand is that your Majesty will make a fund here of one hundred thousand livres which should be employed to gain votes, and to make sure of seven or eight of the principal persons in the lower house, who may support the accusation as soon as it shall be begun. This expence and the employing this sum is not to be done without my participation and consent : that no money is to be given of which I should not know the advantage before hand : that if in the end this scheme has no success, and the high Treasurer can maintain himself and overcome this attack, Mr. Montagu submits himself to your Majesty's generosity to use him in such a manner as you shall think proper, and grant him such marks of your good will and protection as you shall please ; and in this case your Majesty shall be obliged to nothing. But if the accusation succeeds, and the high Treasurer is ruined in six months from this time, Mr. Montagu hopes that your Majesty will recompense him for the service he shall do, and indemnify him for the loss he will infallibly suffer in his fortune and his posts. The King of England will probably use all his efforts to revenge himself of a man who in the person of his Prime Minister has attacked himself. Mr. Montagu asked in this case that your Majesty should cause the sum of one hundred thousand crowns to be paid him, or that your Majesty would secure to him an annuity of forty thousand livres, on the Hotel de Ville, payable out of the funds that have been last settled. He will put this annuity in the name of persons most agreeable to your Majesty, and it shall remain his property to be disposed of, nevertheless subject to your Majesty's pleasure ; that is to say, that he shall not sell nor alienate it without your permission. If neither of these propositions be agreeable to your Majesty, he will content himself with your promise of a pension of fifty thousand livres during his life : thus it

is in your Majesty's choice to give him either the sum of one hundred thousand crowns in hand, or an annuity of forty thousand livres upon the Hotel de Ville, or a pension of fifty thousand livres during his life; and this in case only that the accusation succeeds, and the Treasurer is removed from court in six months; for if this happens, Mr. Montagu does not think he should be exposed to the King of England's hatred, as he will be, if what he attempts succeeds. Six months time is taken, because it is presumed that his Britannick Majesty will use his efforts to preserve his minister, and that at first he will support him. I shall not take upon me to give counsel to your Majesty; I ought to content myself with executing with care the orders you shall give me. However as your Majesty hath commanded me to do every thing that is possible to raise troubles to the King of England, it does not appear to me that any thing could possibly happen more disagreeable to him than to see the man accused in parliament in whom he has reposed the care of affairs, and the government of his kingdom for two years. The Treasurer's enemies who are very numerous, will take courage, and it is not impossible that the Duke of York may abandon him and turn against him. It may happen that the King of England will prorogue his parliament as soon as the Treasurer is attacked; but if he does it, he will have no money either to subsist his army, or to disband it. This may engage him to take a desperate step, and attempt something violent. I much doubt whether the event of it would be fortunate for him. Your Majesty will be able to weigh all the reasons on the one side and the other, and to command me according to your will. Whatever part your Majesty takes, I do not believe any inconvenience can happen to you, because Mr. Montagu's head is in danger if what he has treated upon with me be ever known. I am, &c.

(Signed)

BARILLON."

In the Depot.

The French intrigues in parliament were attended with the most important consequences. The King and the Prince of Orange were equally perplexed, and France served, by the contradictory movements in parliament with regard to the French war, of which the Duke of York and Lord Danby complain in their letters recited above. From Barillon's dispatches of 20th and 27th October, 24th November, and 22d December, 1678, it appears, that after Montague's offer to accuse Lord Danby, Barillon was continually busied in extending the party which was averse to Danby; that Barillon believed Danby in revenge gave ear to the popish plot to make France odious, and permitted the intrigues of Colman to be exposed to hurt Barillon himself; that Lord Hallifax was privy to the intention of impeaching Lord Danby, in order to rise on his ruins, and Algernon Sidney was the person who managed the correspondence between him and Lord Hallifax concerning it; that there was much hesitation about the time when the attack should be made, the leaders of the popular party insisting it should not be until the King had been forced to disband his army; and that in the end it was made sooner than was intended, by the sudden order of Lord Danby (who had probably suspected what was going on) for the seizing of Mr. Montague's papers. The effects of Mr. Mountague's accusation in parliament were, the ruin of Lord Danby's ministry, the dissolution of the parliament, the disgrace of the King on account of his traffick for money with France, and a foundation laid for a long train of evils for him and his brother.

The names of many of the popular party who intrigued with France, the political principles by which they reconciled this conduct to their own minds; and the motives of interest which may also be supposed to have had weight with them, will be seen in the next chapter.

It did not escape the sagacity of Lord Keeper North, that there must have been an invisible hand which directed the irregular movements of the house of commons at this time. In his manuscript memorandums there are the following passages.

Extract 1st, from Lord Keeper North's manuscript memorandums.

“**I**T was very strange to see the Papists join in the cry against the court, and the country party keep company with the French ambassador, and Mr. Coleman (who was truly a pensioner of France) send letters of intelligence to his friends in several parts, burlesquing the orders of government and their buckling to France, and magnifying Spain and the confederates, and boasting of a true English spirit, and he was turned out of the Duke's service; for these pranks, by the King's command, which made him be more cherished by the whigs who conversed with him, especially in parliament time, when he always made them welcome to his table.

And it was observed the Papists in the house of lords did join with the discontented Lords against the test (which I am credibly informed was upon an assurance given them they should never be turned out upon any test) and likewise for to address for the dissolution of that house of commons. In the first they prevailed, and were served as all who trust the fanatics are usually served, who all of them joined in the exclusion of them by an act of the same parliament.”

Extract the second.

“**W**HEN Coleman was in the pay of the French, he held correspondence with Monsieur le Chaise, and he wrote news-papers against the French and Jesuits amongst the fanatics.”

Extract third.

“**I**T was strange to me that the house of commons should be so earnest to persuade the King to enter into an actual war with France, and when he had made preparations in order for it, that the factious party should represent them as intended to enslave the nation, and that good men should be able to believe it.

Here were two rocks, France and arbitrary power. If the King should not make war, it were kindness to France; if he did, his very army was shewed to the people as a bugbear. It is certain that the gentry were in some fear to see so gallant an army so quickly raised, and to be rid of it must join to call it popish; and to make the name more odious, the plot must be magnified, and the posts and chains set up in the city, and the trained bands up every night, to the citizens immense charge, who were in so real (though senseless) a fright that they bore it very patiently.”

Extract fourth.

“**I**N order to have foreign enmities against the government, the faction press them to a foreign war, which will be sure to make the enemies comfort them at home; and if any object that foreign war may bring misery upon the people, and hinder trade, which will make confusion; all the better, say they, when the people are enraged we will charge the fault upon whom we please.”

Extract fifth.

“**A** GREAT statesman (Lord Danby) once resolved to oppose France and popery, which were popular measures one would have thought him safe in. But France tempted him with that which to have refused would have made his master ruin him; and the negotiation itself being criminous was exposed. The plot accusers loved his adversary better than him, and when he

he cherished them they accused even him. A statesman should not rely, as he did, upon tools (Doctor Tong, Oates,) that are guided by others."

The Lord Keeper was so far in the right, with regard to Coleman's being employed by Barillon as an incendiary to disturb Charles's government, that some of Barillon's dispatches mention his giving money to him in that way; and in a volume of supplement to Barillon's dispatches in the *Depot*, for the years 1679 and 1680, there is a memorial from his widow to the French court, transmitted by Monsieur Barillon, in which she sets forth, that Monsr. Barillon had promised her husband 65,000 livres for his services, in case war was not declared by England against France; that he had received only half the sum, and that Barillon scrupled paying the other half to her without an order: Vide also the Journals of the house of commons, November 7, 1678, where Coleman confesses that he got money from Barillon to be distributed in the house of commons.

The Prince of Orange also, at a later period, got some information of the intrigues of France in parliament. Blancard's memorial, mentioned in the last chapter, contain these words. — "Le Roi (i. e. of France) auroit été bien fâché qu'il (i. e. Charles) eut été absolu dans ses états; l'un de ses plus constantes maximes depuis son rétablissement ayant été de le diviser d'avec son parlement, et de se servir tantot de l'un, tantot de l'autre, toujours par argent pour parvenir à ses fins." — "The King of France would have been very sorry that he (i. e. Charles) had been absolute in his states; one of his most constant maxims since the re-establishment of that Prince having been to set him at variance with his parliament, and to make use some-

times of the one, sometimes of the other, and always by money to gain his ends."

There are in King William's box the following letters from the Duke of York to the Prince of Orange, written during the quarrel between King Charles and Louis the XIVth, from the peace of Nimeguen until the fall of Lord Danby's ministry.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange. ——— Princess with child ——— Princess Anne to pay a visit to her sister incognita.

London, September 27. 1678.

"**W**E came hither on Wednesday last, and are preparing to go to Newmarket the beginning of next week, the parliament being prorogued till the 21st of next month. Whilst we shall be out of town, the Dutchesse and my daughter Anne intended to make your wife a visit very incognito, and have yet said nothing of it to any body here but his Majesty, whose leave they asked, and will not till the post be gone; they carry little company with them, and send this bearer, Robert White before, to see to get a house for them as near the court as they can: They intend to stay only whilst we shall be at Newmarket. I was very glad to see by the last letters that my daughter continued so well, and hope now she will go out her full time. I have written to her to be very careful of herself, and she would do well not to stand too much, for that is very ill for a young breeding woman. The incognito ladies intend to set out from hence on Tuesday next if the wind be fair, and have bid me tell you they desire to be very incognito, and have Lord Ossory for their governor. I have not time to say more, only to assure you that I shall always be very kind to you."

Duke

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange — Complains of the trick of the Popish plot—Godfrey's murder.

London, October 18, 1678.

“**W**E came hither on Wednesday from Newmarket, and the same night, presently after eleven, the Dutchess arrived here, so satisfied with her journey and with you, as I never saw any body; and I must give you a thousand thanks from her and from myself, for her kind usage by you: I should say more on this subject, but I am very ill at compliments, and you care not for them. As for news, this pretended plot is still under examination, and the judges are to give their opinion whether one witness in point of treason be sufficient to proceed criminally against any body; and I do verily believe that when this affair is thoroughly examined, it will be found nothing but malice against the poor Catholicks in general, and myself in particular. There is another thing happened, which is, that a justice of peace, one Sir Edmondbury Godfrey, was missing some days, suspected by several circumstances, very probable ones, to design the making himself away; yesterday his body was found in a by-place in the fields, some two or three miles off, with his own sword through him. This makes a great noise, and is laid upon the Catholicks also, but without any reason for it, for he was known to be far from being an enemy to them. All these things happening together will cause, I am afraid, a great flame in the parliament when they meet on Monday, for those disaffected to the government will inflame all things as much as they can: I could say more upon this subject, but have not time to do it, nor to say any thing else, but to assure you that I shall always be very kind to you.”

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Matters pointing to a rebellion in England.—Account of Coleman's death.

London, December 3, 1678.

"**I**HAVE now two letters of yours to answer, the first of the 29th of last month, which I received but on Friday night last, and that so late that it was too late to write by the post ; since when I received yours by Silvius, and assure you he has given full satisfaction in what you charged him with, and that you did for the best. As for news, affairs in general go very ill, for you see the commons will not so much as hearken to the keeping up any longer the troops we have in Flanders, and Brabant, so that they must of necessity be soon sent for over, it being impossible to keep them there for want of money, and a bill is now passing in the house of commons for their being disbanded out of hand, and to send for them presently over for that intent ; and yesterday the ministers in general were fallen upon, and all things look as they did in the beginning of the late rebellion ; and truly I believe there will be great disorders here before it be long, if things continue at the rate they are ; and the republican party is very busy at work. As for what concerns myself, since my proviso has past, I have been let alone, but how long that will continue I do not know, for some continue their good will to me still. Mr. Coleman was executed this morning, and declared, as he was ready to be turned off, that he had been falsely accused by Oates and Bedlow, for that he had never seen them till they were brought as witnesses against him ; that he knew nothing of a plot against his majesty's life or government, and never had gone about to endeavour the alteration of religion by force. It is late and I must end, and that with assuring you that I shall always be as kind to you as you can desire."

Duke

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange. — Duke of Monmouth endeavours to become legitimate.

London, Dec. 9, 1678.

“**I** COULD not refuse this bearer, Machant, to write to you by him, and this shall serve instead of a letter by the post, which is to go to-morrow. As for affairs here, things go on very ill still, and I am afraid things will grow to a greater heat than ever, and that they will every day do something to lessen the King’s authority; and I am told they will again fall upon the Queen and myself, and that to-morrow will be the day. I believe you have heard of some foolish discourses have gone about town concerning the Duke of Monmouth; they continue still, and some of his friends talk as indiscreetly on the same subject. The republicans, and others of the boldest fanaticks, are they that spread it most abroad, hoping to reap some advantage by it against our families; but if they can do us harm no other way I shall not much fear them: however, I shall be watchful upon that matter, and not despise it neither, and if I find it necessary shall take notice of it to his Majesty, who continues very kind to me. I have written so freely, this going by a safe hand; and now shall say no more, but that I shall always be as kind to you as you can desire.”

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange. ---- Intention of the Commons to impeach Danby and disband the army.

London, Dec. 17, 1678.

“**I** HAVE not heard from you this good while, however that does not hinder me from writing, though one has not great pleasure in giving any account of what passes here, things not going as they should. This day was once designed by some to have brought in an impeachment against the Lord Treasurer, but they have deferred it; some think it is deferred only

only to see what success the bill for the disbanding the army will have in the house; and when that shall be past them, have at us all. To-morrow we go upon it in a committee of the whole house, and we shall I believe have a warm debate concerning some amendments which are of absolute necessity to be made in it. In the mean time his Majesty is seeing to draw over his troops as soon as he can, and the weather being frosty as it is, has altered his mind of having those in Brabant come down the Scheld from Antwerp, and designs now to have them march over land to Ostend to embark there, and is sending away orders to that purpose. I have not time to say more now, but that you shall always find me very kind to you."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Account of Montague's attack upon Lord Danby.

London, Dec. 20, 1678.

"YOUR's of the 20th I received but last night, by the which I see you think it very strange that people here do so push for the disbanding of the army. I am of your opinion; but what will that signify, since it is so pushed on by the parliament?—This day we made an end to the amendments of that bill, and to-morrow shall pass it and send it down again to the house of commons. I believe they will not approve of our amendment, which will cause some debate between the houses. I believe you will be surprized to hear what Mr. Montague has done; for being yesterday accused in council of having had secret conferences with the Pope's Nuncio at Paris, he to revenge himself of that, produces letters written to him by the Lord Treasurer by his Majesty's command, when he was Ambassador in France, and shews them to the commons, who upon it ordered an impeachment to be drawn up against the Lord Treasurer upon the matter contained in those letters, and other things they had against him. I am confident there was never so abominable

nable an action as this of Mr. Montague's, and so offensive to the King, in revealing what he was trusted with when he was employed by his Majesty : all honest men abhor him for it. To-morrow I believe the impeachment will be brought up to our house, then we shall see what the articles will be. I make no doubt but that the Lord Treasurer will defend himself very well ; I am sure his Majesty is bound to stand by him. You see at what a rate things go here : I see little hope of their mending. Next week is like to be a busy week with us, though it be the Christmas Holidays ; till when I shall say no more, but that I shall always be very kind to you."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Complains of disbanding part of the troops.

London, Jan. 10, 1678-9.

" **I** DID not write to you the last post, having been a-hunting for the first time since the parliament was prorogued, and was so weary I could not do it, and besides I had nothing considerable to say ; since when I have received your's of the 13th, by the which I see you were going into Gelderland and the other neighbouring provinces, and should be some time out of the Hague. As for news, here is none considerable, but what I believe pleases you no more than it does me, which is, that there are already three of the new-raised regiments of horse disbanded ; and the rest of the new-raised troops will be so too as fast as money can be got to pay them off. As for other things the face of affairs looks very ill still, and the ill-affected people do keep up the fears and jealousies as much as ever, and mens minds are as unsettled as ever, and fit for any disorder, and I very much fear we shall find the effects of it so soon as the troops are disbanded ; and then we shall not only be liable to disorders at home, but be exposed to attempts from abroad. This is all I shall say at present,

sent, but to assure you of my being always very kind to you."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—On the same subject.—Anxious on his own account.

London, Jan. 17, 1678-9.

" I DID not write to you by last post, having then but little to say, and now all that is, is that his Majesty declared in council this afternoon that he would put off the meeting of the parliament till the 25th of next month; for till that time he believed he should not be able to have disbanded the new-raised troops, or to have found out the bottom of the plot, both which he would willingly do before they met; as for the disbanding, as fast as they come out of Flanders it will be done, and for the plot, a committee of council sits every morning. I wish we may not repent before few months pass the parting with so many good troops; for I must confess I do not like to hear the French are getting so considerable a fleet ready at Brest, especially when I consider the posture affairs are in at home; and I assure you great arts are used by some to enflame mens minds, which is now easily done; and how all things will end, the Lord only knows; and for myself, those who appeared against me when the parliament sat are as malicious against me as ever. This is all I shall now say to you, and you may be sure I shall always be very kind to you."

CHAPTER III.

Third period. From the fall of Lord Danby's ministry until the dissolution of the last parliament of Charles the Second.

THE fall of Lord Danby's ministry, and the dissolution of the parliament, which were accompanied by the prosecution of the Popish plot and by the bill of exclusion, caused Charles speedily to turn his eyes back to France.

The Duke of York, who saw that the storm would break upon his head, had endeavoured even before Lord Danby was impeached to make provision against danger with France. Barillon writes to his court on the 17th Nov. 1678, that the Duke of York complained to him that Lord Danby had adopted the sentiments of parliament against Popery and France to gain popularity to himself; and that the Duke proposed the army should be kept on foot, notwithstanding the resolutions of parliament to disband it; that the parliament itself should be dissolved, and that to facilitate these ends, the union between Louis and his brother should be renewed: Barillon adds, that the Duke desired him not to let the King or Lord Danby know of his having suggested these things to him. In the Depot.

Montague also, in order to gain advantage from the mischiefs he had created, endeavoured to persuade Barillon to bring about a reconciliation between Louis and Charles. Barillon writes to his court 5th Jan. 1678-9, that Montague had urged him to advise Charles to dismiss his army and give up Danby, and if Charles consented, to assure him of the assistance of France. In the Depot.

In the *Depot*.

On the 5th Jan. 1678-9, Barillon writes, that upon Lord Danby's impeachment Charles pressed Barillon to prevail with Louis to give him assistance, saying, that the attack upon the Catholicks was only an attack upon the common cause of royalty. Barillon answered, that Charles ought to disband his army before he could expect it ;—“ car c'est le point essential ;—“ for that is the essential point.”

Whatever reason Charles had to be startled at a demand from France for disbanding his army, he renewed the conversation a few days after with Barillon, the particulars of which are in the following dispatch.

Extrait de la lettre de Mr. Barillon au Roi, du 9 Janvier, 1679.

In the *Depot*.

“ **L**E Roi d'Angleterre m'a tiré ce soir en particulier, et m'a dit qu'il m'entretiendrait demain ou après avec plus de loisir, mais qu'il me chargeoit d'assurer votre Majesté, qu'il ne souhaitoit rien tant que son amitié, et de faire une liaison étroite que rien ne pût alterer ; qu'il auroit une extreme joie de vous devoir son salut et sa conservation, et qu'il ne refuseroit aucune des conditions que votre Majesté desireroit ; qu'il voyoit bien par tout ce que je lui avois dit que la conservation de l'armée, ou d'une partie, étoit regardée comme une chose dangereuse pour les intérêts de la France ; que son dessein étoit de licencier ses troupes, et de n'en garder que ce que votre Majesté elle même jugeroit à propos ; que si elle lui demandoit encore d'autres sûretés il consentiroit à tout, mais qu'il falloit aussi qu'il connût si votre Majesté vouloit l'aider et le secourir dans l'extrémité où il se trouve réduit, parce qu'il seroit obligé de prendre d'autres mesures qui lui convenoient moins, mais qui seroient pour lui d'une absolue nécessité. J'ai répondu à cela en termes généraux, et j'ai évité d'entrer dans aucun détail. Je crois que l'on me parlera positivement, et que le Roi d'Angleterre consentira à licencier toutes ses troupes pourvu que

que votre Majesté veuille l'aider à subsister pendant quelque tems. Quoique je sois informé des intentions de votre Majesté, et que je sache bien que je dois éviter d'entrer dans une négociation qui se terminera par une demande de trois ou quatre millions, je ne fais pas jusqu'à quel point votre Majesté veut que j'en éloigne la proposition, et je ne vois pas comment je pourrai éviter qu'elle me soit faite.

J'ai connu aussi, parceque m'a dit ce soir Mr. de Sonderland, qu'on veut ici faire un dernier effort pour avoir l'appui de votre Majesté, et que pour cela on ne disconvient d'aucunes conditions. J'essairai de gagner du tems, et de savoir au vrai l'état des affaires de ce Pays-ci, à fin que votre Majesté puisse me donner ses ordres sur la conduite que j'aurai à tenir."

Translation:

Extract of a letter from Mr. Barillon to Louis the XIVth, 9th Jan. 1679.——Charles begs the assistance of France——Offers to submit to any conditions, and to keep as few troops as Louis thinks proper.

"**T**HE King of England drew me aside this evening, and told me that he would discourse me to-morrow or after to-morrow with more leisure; but that he charged me to assure your Majesty he wished nothing so much as your friendship, and to make a strict union which nothing might alter; that he should have an extreme joy to owe his safety and preservation to you, and would not refuse any conditions your Majesty desired; that he very well knew by all I had said to him, that the keeping the army on foot, or any part of it, was regarded as a matter dangerous to the interests of France; that his design was to disband his troops, and only keep what your Majesty might think proper; that if you demanded other securities, he would consent to all; but it was necessary also he should know if your Majesty would give him assistance and supply

supply in the extremity to which he is reduced, because otherwise he would be obliged to take other measures less agreeable to him; but which he should be under an absolute necessity to do. I answered in general terms, and avoided entering into any detail. I believe they will speak to me positively, and that the King of England will consent to disband his troops; provided your Majesty will assist him to support himself for some time. Although I am informed of your Majesty's intentions, and that I well know I ought to avoid entering into a negociation which will end in a demand of three or four millions; I don't know how far your Majesty will have me evade the proposal, nor do I see how I can avoid its being made to me.

I also know by what Lord Sunderland said this evening to me, that they will make a last effort to have your Majesty's support, and to that purpose will not disagree about any conditions. I will endeavour to gain time, and to know for truth the state of affairs in this country, to the end your Majesty may give me your orders upon the conduct I am to observe."

In the Depot.

On the 12th Jan. 1679, Barillon writes to his court that Charles had told him,—"Qu'il aimoit mieux dependre de votre Majesté que de son peuple;"—"That he liked better to depend upon your Majesty than upon his people;" and that he begged a supply of four millions of livres.

In the Depot.

In January 1679 he writes, that Sunderland told him he was to go Ambassador to France, "pour établir un liaison étroit entre sa Majesté Chrétienne et le Roy;"—"to establish a strict union between his Christian Majesty and King Charles:" and there is in the *Depot* a letter from Sunderland notifying to the French court that he is soon to set out upon his embassy, and another soon after from Charles to Louis that he had stopped him.

Barillon

Barillon writes on the 16th Feb. 1679, that Charles *In the Depot.* told him his reason for making Lord Sunderland his minister was, that he had always found him attached to the interests of France.

Barillon writes on the 20th Feb. 1679, that Sunder- *In the Depot.* land told him, he imputed his late promotion to the same cause; and in June following he writes, that upon his saying to Lord Sunderland that there would be a good understanding between the two Kings, if those who wished to be popular were not always enemies to France, Sunderland laughed, and answered;—
 “Vous voyes comment le Comte de Danbi s’en est bien trouvé.” “You see how well Lord Danby has fared by it.”

To all these advances the French court gave no encouragement. The reason of which may be gathered from the following circumstances.

Barillon writes on the 25th Jan. 1679, that there *In the Depot.* was at present a suspicion of a secret intelligence between Charles and the Prince of Orange, and of the Prince’s having remitted 200,000*l.* to him: and on the 18th June, 1679, he writes that Henry Sidney is sent Ambassador to the Hague, and as Barillon suspects with no good intentions to France.

Barillon, on the 16th and 23d of February, 1679, *In the Depot.* writes that when he urged Charles to disband his army, Charles answered that he had no money to do it with; and in other dispatches he writes, that Charles avoided disbanding his army, and excused himself by saying, he would thereby have a pretence for asking money from parliament to disband it.

In the Depot.

Barillon on the other hand frequently writes, that the popular party in parliament were sincere and hearty in concurring with him to get the army disbanded.

In the Depot.

He writes on the 27th March and 6th April, 1678, that though the Dutchess of Portsmouth and Lord Sunderland are sincerely in the interests of France, they cannot at present be of much use to those interests, because they are still under the terror of being involved in the fate of Lord Danby.

On the 8th May, 1679, Barillon writes, that the power of Charles by the factions of his own dominions is entirely sunk, that an alliance with him would therefore be of no advantage with regard to foreign affairs, and that it is better to continue to court the heads of parties in order to continue his difficulties.

It is however a piece of justice to French politicks, mischievous as they were at that time to England, to say, that there are no traces in the papers at Versailles of any encouragement given by France to the popish plot, though that was the great engine made use of by the popular party against Charles.

Charles, abandoned in this manner by France, was obliged to assemble a new parliament, to disband all his new-raised army, to send his brother into Flanders, and to trust the conduct of his affairs to a council composed of many of those who had been his most violent opposers.

In the Depot.

From Barillon's letter to his court, May 1st, 1679, it appears that Barillon was at first enraged at the settlement of this council; imagining that it might have created an union of all parties in the domestic quiet of England

England and against France ; but that the Dutcheſs of Portſmouth told him, the only reaſons which had brought about the meaſure were, that the King might get money from parliament by means of it, and that ſhe and Lord Sunderland had thought themſelves in danger from the popular party. He adds, that Lord Hollis told him he had had a hand in contriving it ; and that he and Montagu aſſured him it ſhould never be turned againſt France.

Barillon writes, 16 March, 1678, to his court, that In the *Dépot*, Charles had excuſed himſelf to him for ſending his brother into baniſhment, by the neceſſity of his affairs, and that he ſpoke of him with the greateſt tenderneſs. A copy of the letter from Charles to his brother, which ordered him to retire abroad, is in the *Dépot*, as follows.

*Lettre du Roi d'Angleterre au Duc d'York, du 28
Feurier, 1679.*

“ **M**ON chere frere. Je vous ai déjà amplement In the *Dépot*,
dit les raiſons qui m'obligeoient de vous
éloigner de moi pour quelque tems au dela la mer.

Comme je ſuis véritablement fâché du ſujet de notre ſéparation, vous pouvés auſſi vous aſſûrer, que je ne ſouhaiterai jamais que votre abſence dure plus long-tems qu'il ne ſera abſolument néceſſaire pour votre bien et pour mon ſervice. Je trouve cependant qu'il eſt à propos de vous faire ſavoir de ma propre main que je m'attends que vous me ſatisferés en ceci, et que je ſouhaite que ce ſoit auſſiôt que votre commodité le permettra : Vous pouvés facilement croire que ce n'eſt pas ſans beaucoup de peine que je vous écris ceci, étant plus touché de la conſtante amitié que vous avés eue pour moi, que de quoi que ce ſoit au monde ; et j'eſpere auſſi que vous me ferés la juſtice d'être aſſuré que l'ab-

sence ni rien autre chose ne m'empêchera d'être véritablement et avec affection votre,

(Signé) CHARLES R.

Supercription. Pour mon plus cher ami le Duc d'York."

Translation.

Letter from the King of England to the Duke of York, 28th February, 1679.—Orders the Duke to retire abroad.

"MY dear brother. I have already fully told you the reasons which oblige me to send you from me for some time beyond sea.

As I am truly sorry for the cause of our separation, you may also assure yourself, that I shall never wish your absence to continue longer than is absolutely necessary for your good and my service. I find it however proper to let you know under my hand that I expect you will satisfy me in this; and that I wish it may be as soon as your conveniency will permit: You may easily believe that it is not without a great deal of pain I write you this, being more touched with the constant friendship you have had for me, than with any thing else in the world; and I also hope that you will do me the justice to believe for certain, that neither absence, nor any thing will hinder me from being truly and with affection yours.

(Signed) CHARLES R.

Supercription. For my most dear friend the Duke of York."

Even after Charles had ordered his brother to withdraw, he made an attempt to save him from the affront of it, by sending the bishops of Canterbury and Winchester to persuade him to return to the protestant religion. An account of the conference between the bishops and the Duke, upon this occasion, is in the *Depot* as follows.

Extrait

*Extrait de la lettre de Mr. Barillon, du 6 Mars, 1679,
au Roy.*

Sire,

“ **L**’ARCHEVEQUE de Cantorbery et l’évêque ^{In the Depot.} de Winchester demandèrent il y a deux jours une audience secrète à Mr. le Duc d’York. Ils lui dirent d’abord, qu’ils le supplioient de leur permettre de lui parler sur une matiere qui lui pouvoit être desagréable ; que le bien de l’état, et le service de son Altesse royale en particulier les obligeoient de lui représenter, que le changement qu’il avoit fait de la religion Anglicane apporteroit de tels desordres à l’avenir et causeroit de tels maux, qu’ils se trouvoient nécessités à l’exhorter de vouloir entrer en conference sur les points qui sont en contestation entre l’Eglise Protestante et l’Eglise Romaine, et qu’ils esperoient de lui faire connoître combien des raisons doivent l’obliger à entrer dans la première religion qu’il a professé. Mr. le Duc d’York leur répondit qu’il prenoit en bonne part ce qu’ils lui disoient, et qu’il étoit persuadé de leurs bonnes intentions ; que cependant il ne pouvoit douter qu’il n’y eût beaucoup de malignité dans le dessein de ceux qui les avoient obligés à lui tenir un tel discours ; que c’étoit un piège qu’on lui tendoit pour l’engager à refuser d’entrer dans une conference qui ne pouvoit être d’aucune utilité ; qu’il ne se prétendoit pas assez savant pour disputer avec des gens d’une profonde capacité ; qu’il avoit cependant apporté toutes les précautions possibles dans son changement ; qu’il l’avoit différé plusieurs années, et qu’il avoit consulté les plus habiles évêques et docteurs Protestans ; que présentement sa conscience étoit en repos, et qu’il croyoit être dans le bon chemin, qu’ainsi rien ne devoit l’obliger à entrer dans une conference avec eux, parcequ’il n’avoit aucun doute sur lequel il voulut s’éclaircir ; qu’il les entendroit volontiers quand ils auroient quelque chose à lui dire ; mais que de sa part il n’avoit pas dessein d’entrer en contestation avec eux. Il y eût quelques repliques de part et d’autre. Le pre-

lats soutinrent que cette conference ne pouvoit être d'aucun inconvenient, et paroissoit fort utile dans la conjoncture présente. Mr. le Duc d'York persista toujours à refuser cette conference. On avoit déjà repandu le bruit que ce Prince étoit disposé à changer de religion, et qu'il iroit au premier jour à la chapelle du Roi d'Angleterre. Ce qui s'est passé en cela est regardé ici par tout le monde comme un commencement qui peut avoir des suites fort dangereuses pour Mr. le Duc d'York. Il en connoit toutes les consequences, et m'en a parlé comme d'un premier pas que ses ennemis ont voulu faire pour aller plus avant contre lui. Il m'a dit que l'archevêque de Cantorbery et l'évêque de Winchester lui avoient parlé comme députés des autres évêques qui se sont trouvés à Londres, et que c'est avec la participation du Roi d'Angleterre qu'ils lui ont proposé cette conference. Ce Prince ne paroît pas ébranlé, ni résolu du se démentir en rien de la profession ouverte qu'il fait de la religion Catholique."

Translation.

Extract of a letter from Mr. Barillon to Louis the XIVth, March 6, 1679.—The Bishops by order of the King endeavour to bring the Duke of York back to the Protestant religion.—The conference.

Sire,

"THE Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Winchester two days ago asked a private audience of the Duke of York. They immediately said, that they entreated him to permit them to speak to him upon a matter which might be disagreeable to him; that the good of the state, and of his Royal Highness's service in particular, obliged them to represent to him that the change in his religion from that of the church of England would bring on such disorders hereafter, and cause such evils, that they found themselves under a necessity to exhort him to enter into a conference upon the points

points which are in contest between the Protestant and Roman Catholick churches, and that they hoped to convince him how many reasons ought to oblige him to embrace the religion he had first professed. The Duke of York answered, that he took in good part what they had said to him, and that he was persuaded of their good intentions ; that however he could not doubt but that there was much malignity in the design of those who had obliged them to hold such a discourse to him ; that it was a snare laid to engage him to refuse entering into a conference which could be of no use ; that he did not pretend to be wise enough to dispute with persons of profound capacity ; but he had however taken all possible precautions in his change ; that he had deferred it many years, and had consulted the most able Protestant Bishops and Doctors : that at present his conscience was at ease, and he believed himself to be in the right road ; that nothing made it necessary for him to enter into a conference with them, because he had no doubts in which he wanted to be cleared ; that he would willingly hear them if they had any thing to say to him, but for his part he had no design to enter into a dispute with them. There were some replies on both sides. The prelates maintained that this conference would be attended with no inconveniencies, and appeared very useful in this present conjuncture. The Duke of York always persisted to refuse this conference. The report had been already spread abroad that he was disposed to change his religion, and that he was to go upon the first occasion to the King of England's chapel. What passed in this affair is regarded here by every body as a beginning which may have very dangerous consequences to the Duke of York. He knows all the consequences, and spoke to me of it as the first which his enemies have taken, that they may go farther lengths against him. He told me that the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of Winchester had spoken to him as deputies from the other Bishops who are in London, and that it was with the participation of the King of Eng-

land they have proposed this conference. This Prince does not appear shaken, or resolved to deviate in any thing from the open profession he makes of the Catholick religion."

In the Depos.

It appears from Barillon's letter to his court of the 13th March, 1679, that upon receiving the order to go abroad, the Duke of York threw himself entirely upon France; that in apology for his late appearances against the interests of Louis, he laid the fault upon his brother; and that he told Barillon he wished to take refuge in France, but was prevented against his will.

In King William's box there are the following letters to the Prince of Orange from the Duke of York during his secret exile in Flanders, which shew the extreme uneasiness of mind he was under whilst there.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—His surprize at the news of Sir William Temple's council.

Bruxelles, May 8, 1679.

"**I** SEE by your's of the 5th, which I received yesterday, that you had not then heard of the great news of the making of a new council, and the Earl of Shaftesbury being President of it, which did not only surprize me very much, but all those of this country, and more especially those who govern here, they not understanding more than I do what could prevail with his Majesty to lay aside so many of his truest servants, and put all his affairs into the hands of those who for so many years have opposed and obstructed all his affairs; for my part, I dread the consequences of it, but shall be very glad to be mistaken, and wish with all my heart his Majesty may find ease in his affairs by what he has done; a little time will let us see much. I have been informed that all this great alteration was
resolved

resolved on at Lord Sunderland's, none attending his Majesty there but the Duke of Monmouth and Lord Shaftesbury. The dutchess is said to brag she helped to persuade his Majesty to do it. These people continue very civil to me. I am exceedingly glad to hear my daughter has missed her ague, I hope she will have no more now the warm weather is come. I should now make you a thousand compliments for your obliging letter and the kind usage I had from you ; but besides that I am very ill at making them, I have not time to do it, and I hope you will always believe me as kind to you as you can desire.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—On the same subject.—Things tend to a republick.

Bruxells, May 11, 1679.

“ I HAVE just now received your's of the 9th, by the which I see you were surprized with what has happened in England as well as I was, and you are in the right to say one can yet make no judgment what effect it will have, time must shew it ; and to return your freedom, I fear it will not have a good effect ; for by the last letters I had from thence, I am informed that all those of the house of commons who have now upon this new change had any preferment, have already quite lost their credit in that house, and that there are already new cabals and parties setting up there amongst those who have had no preferment : so that to tell you freely my thoughts, in my mind all things tend to a republick, for you see all tend towards lessening of the King's authority, and the new model things are put into, is the very same it was in the time of the commonwealth ; and I fear that hardly any that are now of the council have courage enough to advise or stand by any vigorous resolution. I should be very glad to be deceived, and would say more, but that the post is just ready to go ; let what will happen, you shall always find me the same to you.

Duke

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—The exclusion bill.—His opinion of the consequence of it.—Wishes the Prince to go to England.

Bruxells, May 14, 1679.

“**Y**OU have before this had an account of what was done by the house of commons on this day se’nnight that concerns me ; you see how violently my enemies attack me, and that Wednesday last was the day that both houses were to take into consideration my affair. What the issue of it will be, I expect to hear this night or to-morrow, and cannot now but look on the monarchy itself in great danger, as well as his Majesty’s person, and that not from Papists, but from the commonwealth party, and some of those who were lately brought into the council, that govern the Duke of Monmouth, and who make a property of him to ruin our family ; and things go on so fast and so violently, and there are so very few left about his Majesty that have either will or courage to give good advice to him, that I tremble to think what will happen ; for if his Majesty and the house of Lords stick to me, then one may expect great disorders, nay a rebellion : if his Majesty and they shall consent to what the commons may do against me, I shall then look on his Majesty as less than a Duke of Venice, and the Monarchy and our family absolutely ruined and given up : but what to do or what to advise as things now stand, is very hard to say. I could wish you in England, though I dare not propose it to you to go, not knowing how you might find things there, nor how it would consist with your affairs in Holland, of which I can no way judge. Therefore all I dare say to you is to desire you to consider well with yourself, whether it be fit for you to go or no. You see they would not fall upon me till the council was new modelled, and that they had turned out four of the Judges, all loyal men, and put in others in their places that I fear will find what they please law. I could write a volume upon this subject, but shall say

no more till I have my next letters, only assure you shall never find any alteration in my kindness to you."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.——To the same purpose.——On the King's proposing limitations on a Popish successor.

Brussels, May 17, 1679.

"SINCE I wrote last to you I have had the English letters of Friday, and last night Churchill came hither, who left London on Sunday, and brought me a very kind letter from his Majesty. You will by this have seen his Majesty and Lord Chancellor's speech, which were spoken on this day se'nnight to both houses; they had this one effect, that it put off in both places the debate that was to have been concerning me; but for all that, I do not at all flatter myself that these speeches will keep them from falling upon me, at least in the house of commons; for I do not find they are satisfied with those so great condescensions of his Majesty; and to tell you the truth, I am informed by my letters that nothing will satisfy the Presbyterians but the destroying of the Monarchy and the setting up of a commonwealth; to which purpose they flatter the Duke of Monmouth, as the only way to bring to pass their ends and to destroy our family; and he is so indiscreet as to give into it, and so thinks he can find his account in it; and as I told you in my last, I apprehend very much for his Majesty's person from those kind of people, and I can hardly see how he can almost get out of the ill condition he is in. However, my friends have some hopes, and all advise me to leave this place and go into a Protestant country, which they say may be of some advantage to me; therefore if you approve of it, I would willingly go to Breda as the properest place for me to be in to please them and to be near England, keeping still my house here furnished to come hither as occasion shall offer. Pray let me hear from you as soon as you can, that I may take my measures accordingly; for till I know

know whether you approve of it, I do not intend to say any thing of it here. This is all I shall say now to you, but to assure you that nothing shall ever alter me from being as kind to you as ever."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—His indignation at the bill of exclusion.—Thinks the King steady about the exclusion.

Bruxells, May 29, 1679.

"**I** INTENDED to have answered yesterday yours of the 22d, from the Hague, but really had not time, having had so much to write by an express my friends from England sent me, who I dispatched back last night, that I could not write to you by that post; and this morning I received another from you of the 26th, by the which I am very glad to find that the journey to Dering has quite cured my daughter. You know before this what passed on Sunday was se'nnight in the house of commons upon my subject: it was the Presbyterians and the Duke of Monmouth's friends carried it, and were most violent against me; and now it is plain that those first, I mean the Presbyterians, design nothing less than the ruin of the monarchy and our family; and truly I am of your mind, and think it is impossible for things there to last as they are, not a week longer, for if his Majesty does not entirely submit to them, and become less than a Duke of Venice, it is my opinion they will fly out into an open rebellion; and I hope in God his Majesty will never submit as they would have him, and then the other must follow: and if his Majesty make but one step more, I mean make any farther concessions, he is gone, for if once they get the navy, purge the guards and garrisons, and put new men in, they will be absolute masters. A very few days will let us see what will become of it, and one shall know what to trust to; so that I shall stay here, and not make use of the offer you make me of going to Breda, for now what my friends in England designed by it is out of doors. But in all my misfortunes there is

one.

one thing which gives me a great deal of ease, it is that his Majesty appears very resolute for me, and exclaims, as I can desire, at what has passed the house of commons, and is very much unsatisfied with the Duke of Monmouth, and uses all his endeavours to hinder the bill's passing in the house of commons. I hope this vote of theirs will do their work for them, for they that pretend to lay aside one for his religion, may as well lay aside another for some fancy or other; but I hope his Majesty will take courage, and at last be a King. I shall say no more now, but assure you that you shall always find me as kind to you as you can desire."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.——Doubtful of the King's steadiness about the exclusion.

Bruxelles, June 1, 1679.

"**Y**OU will have seen by your last letters from England, how violently they proceed on against me; and that the bill for depriving me of the succession had had one reading, and was to be read again as on Monday last; so that except his Majesty begin to behave himself as a King ought to do, not only I, but himself and our whole family are gone; and things have been let go to that pass, that the best I can expect is very great disorders, and unless something very vigorous be done within a very few days, the monarchy is gone, for the presbyterian party, which is the republican, is grown so strong, that without they receive a sudden check all is gone. A few days will now let us see what we have to trust to; in the mean time be assured nothing shall alter my kindness to you."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.——Doubtful of the King's resolutions.——Expects a civil war.

Bruxelles, June 8, 1679.

"**I** RECEIVED your's, of the 31st of last month, on Monday night last, just after the post was gone,

gone, so that I could not answer it sooner. I know so well the concern you have for me as easily to believe the trouble all these extravagant proceedings of the house of commons against me has given you ; I did not think they could have been so violent, and have so soon forgot the oath of allegiance that they had so lately taken ; but when one considers how strong the Presbyterians are in that house, it is not so extraordinary a thing, for they will never fail to lay hold of any opportunity to down with monarchy ; and Sir Tho. Clarges made a very good remark in the speech he made against the bill, that most of those that were for it, I think he said all, were either Presbyterians or their sons. But I hope this, and some other proceedings of the commons, will have so alarmed his Majesty and the Lords, that he will at last take some vigorous resolution, and they will stand by him ; and I have all the assurances from my friends one can have, that if the bill come up to the house of Lords, it will be rejected there ; and his Majesty, in his last letter to me of this day se'night, assured me the same thing. He continues very kind to me, and is unsatisfied with the Duke of Monmouth's proceedings, but still continues kind in his mind to him, and endeavours and hopes to make him behave himself as he ought to do. And now, as to the affairs in England, one can do nothing but guess at what may happen, for even there I think few can say what will be ; what I conjecture is, that this parliament must of necessity be either dissolved or prorogued in a very few days, or the monarchy is gone ; and I hope now, not only his Majesty's eyes, but all the honest mens eyes are opened, and see that a commonwealth is what is driven at, and that they will take their measures accordingly ; and I have some hopes on't, since his Majesty refused the address made him for the drawing together the militia of London and parts adjacent, during the trial of the Lords. And I know he is very sensible that if he parts with any more of his power that he is gone. He has yet the fleet, the garrisons, his guards,
Ireland

Ireland and Scotland firm to him, so that if he will yet stand by himself he may yet be a King, but for all that it cannot be without trouble and hazard; but firmness and good husbandry may carry him through all his difficulties; and I am very apt to believe, that whensoever he shews he will be no longer used as he has been, and that they see he will be a King; that there will be a rebellion. I have told you my mind freely; a few days will let one know what to trust to. I am very sorry to find by your letter that my daughter had yet had a fit after her vomit; I hope it will be the last, and shall be very impatient till I have the next letters, to know how she does. It is now time for me to end my long letter, and be assured that you shall always find me very kind to you."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange. — Conceives hopes from the long prorogation. — Was not privy to it.

Bruxelles, June 10, 1679.

"I BELIEVE you will have been surprised to have heard of the prorogation of the parliament till the middle of August; till I hear from his Majesty I can make no judgment of it, which I expect to do to-morrow or next day; when I do I shall inform you of it. Methinks it looks like a dissolution, and some vigorous resolutions taken, else why so long a prorogation? Which is all I shall say to you till I hear again from England, except it be to assure you that I am as kind to you as you can desire."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange. — Disappointed at not being sent for upon the prorogation of the parliament.

Bruxelles, June 15, 1679.

"I RECEIVED your's of the 12th from Breda, by the which I see you were to go back the next morning to Dering. I am glad to hear my daughter had missed two fits of her ague, and I hope to hear she will have

have had no more. You will before this have had your letters from England, and so be able to judge how things will go there. When colonel Wesley went from hence I had some hopes of being soon sent for by his Majesty, believing by the prorogation vigorous counsels would have been taken; but by some things have been done since, I have reason to believe such counsels will not be pursued, and consequently I not sent for: but of this I shall not be able to make any certain judgment till the end of next week; when I hear any thing I shall be sure to acquaint you with it, and in the mean time be assured that no body has more kindness for you than I have."

For my sonne, the Prince of Orange.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.——To the same purpose.

Bruxelles, June 22, 1679.

"**I** WAS in hopes by this time to have had a letter from his Majesty by Graham, who he said he would write by before he went to Windsor, but he is not yet come, and I am still ignorant of the reasons that moved his Majesty to declare in council he would not let me return during the prorogation: and though, by some things which had been done since that time, I did begin to believe I should not be sent for so soon, yet I confess I was somewhat surprized at his Majesty declaring it so, and now do not expect to be sent for in haste, for I hardly believe I shall be sent for when the parliament meets. I have been abroad all this day, and so have not time to say more to you now, but to assure you you shall always find me very kind to you."

For my sonne, the Prince of Orange.

Duke

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—On the same subject.

Bruxelles, June 26, 1679.

“**I** HAVE just now received your's of the 22d, and I have now less hopes than ever of being sent for; for notwithstanding the rebellion in Scotland, which I thought might have served for an argument for my being called for home, by letters I have this day received from his Majesty by Graham, I find he does not yet think fit to send for me, though he gives me all the assurances imaginable of his desiring it, but concludes for several reasons (which would be too long now to write, the post being ready to go) that it would not be for his service nor my good to send for me yet, so that to deal freely with you, I am afraid so long as Lord Shaftesbury and some others, who shall be nameless, are at the head of affairs, I am not like to be called for home. As for the news from Scotland, you know as much of it as we here, but I have not time to say any more to you now; but that you shall always find me as kind to you as you can desire.”

For my sonne; the Prince of Orange.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Has asked leave to come home.—Doubtful about his own fate.

Bruxells, July 3, 1678.

“**I** HAD your's of the 26th of last month on Friday last, since when I would not write to you till now, and do easily believe the trouble it is to you, that there is so little likelihood of my being sent for by his Majesty; I have again ventured to write to him upon that subject, and have given him my reasons why I think it for his service to send for me to him, and that presently. What effect that will have I may know by the end of this

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this

this week or the beginning of the next, and then shall know what to trust to; for if I be not sent for upon my last letters, I shall have little hopes to see England this good while, and shall have reason to fear those measures will be taken which must ruin our family, and with it the Monarchy; for the republican party get ground every day, being backed by the Presbyterians. As for the affairs in Scotland, that rebellious crew that is up in arms will I believe be soon dispersed, they having no considerable men amongst them; but I think what may follow upon the Duke of Monmouth's going down thither, may be of ill consequence. When I know any thing of importance shall be sure to let you know it, and be assured I shall always be as kind to you as ever."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.——The Monarchy depends not on parliament, but on God alone.——Differs from the Prince as to parliament.

Bruxells, July 6, 1679.

"**I** RECEIVED this morning your's of the 4th from Houndslardike, and by it see your news from England concerning Scotland agrees with mine, and believe the affairs in that country quieted by this; but I am not at all of your mind as to what concerns the meeting of the parliament, for I can hope for no good from it, but on the contrary all the ill imaginable, and not only to me but to his Majesty and whole family, as may appear by the bill that was read in the house of commons against me, which was against law, and which destroys the very being of Monarchy, which I thank God yet has had no dependancy on parliament, nor on nothing but God alone, nor ever can and be a Monarchy; and his Majesty will be of this mind, and never let this house of commons sit again; if he does, he is ruined for ever. I could say much more to you upon this subject, but have not time; and let what will happen

happen in England, you shall always find me as kind to you as you can desire."

For my Sonne, the Prince of Orange.

*Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.——Still in doubts,
about his own fate.*

Bruxells, July 9, 1679.

"**I** EXPECT with great impatience to have an answer to my last long letter to his Majesty ; and though the wind has been contrary these two or three days last past, yet I hope by to-morrow night or Tuesday to hear something, and if it be any thing to my satisfaction, I shall be sure to let you know it ; if it be only delays and puttings off, I shall stay to let you know it by the post. I believe the next letters will bring us news of the rebels in Scotland being defeated. I see by your's of the 7th, which I received this day, that the same report which was some time since at Nismeguen of my being gone into France is now come where you are. I cannot imagine how such a story should be made, since there was no ground for it, nor was it ever talked on here ; but there are so many lies made in all places, and sworn to in England, that one ought not to wonder at any stories that are made : and I believe you will very soon see the Queen fallen upon with a design of taking her life, else those three great villains Otes, Bedlow and Dugdal, would not have behaved themselves so insolently as they did the other day at council, when they were sent for by his Majesty and asked there what they had to say at Sir G. Wakeman's trial against her Majesty, and positively refused to do it ; which is all I have now to say to you, but that you shall always find me as kind to you as ever."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.——Differs from the Prince as to parliament.

Bruxells, July 16, 1679.

“**I** RECEIVED your's of the 12th after the post was gone, so that I could not answer it till now, and though I may have mistaken you, I am still of opinion that this house of commons if ever they meet will fall again upon me, and never do any thing but harm to his Majesty's affairs ; and it would be a great blow to the Monarchy to let them sit again that did but offer to meddle with the succession ; and had I any power with his Majesty, they should not meet. I could say very much on this subject to lett you see I am in the right, but have not time, the post being ready to go, to say any more, but that you shall always find me very kind to you.”

For my Sonne, the Prince of Orange.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.——The King has refused to permit him to come home.——He is in despair.

Bruxells, July 19, 1679.

“**I** N my last I told you I expected every hour an answer to my letters I wrote by Graham ; I have now had it, but no good one, for I must still remain a banished man abroad, and have no other answer given me, but that it is for his Majesty's service and for my own safety ; so that my reasons have not prevailed at all, nor can I ever expect to be recalled so long as those who are now at the head of his Majesty's affairs continue to govern ; and I fear very much that the next sessions of parliament, let it be when it will, will be a fatal one, not only for me, but for the very Monarchy itself, let his Majesty or any body else flatter themselves as much as they please to the contrary. I could say much more but will not, it being no very pleasing subject

ject to discourse on; the Dutcheſs of Modena came hither on Monday, and be aſſured I ſhall always be as kind to you as you can deſire."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange. — The Duke's joy at the diſſolution of the 2d parliament. — Yet anxious for himſelf.

Bruxells, July 26, 1679.

"I RECEIVED your's ſo late of the 21ſt laſt poſt, that I could not answer it then, ſince when I believe you have heard as well as I that his Maſteſty diſſolved this parliament, and called another to meet in October. I am very glad he has done it, and think he muſt have given up his crown to them had he not done it after the inſolent behaviour of the houſe of commons to him. I hope it will teach the next better manners; but in caſe they ſhould follow the footſteps of that which is now broken, I hope they will be ſerved after the ſame manner. Nobody deſires more than I that there may be a good union between the King and his parliament, but I am not for their uſing him ſo inſolently as this laſt did, not for their meddling with the ſucceſſion, nor making of Kings, with which they have nothing to do; and I am glad of this diſſolution, though it rather retards my being ſent for than advances it, for I always conſider more what is more for his Maſteſty's ſervice and the good of our family than any private concern of my own. I find my enemies continue in favour as much as ever, and are at the head of affairs, and as long as that continues I have little hopes of ſeeing England, which is all I ſhall now ſay to you, but to aſſure you, you ſhall always find me very kind to you."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange. — The diſſolution of the parliament will not cauſe him to be recalled.

Bruxells, July 30, 1679.

"I HAD your's of the 25th but yeſterday, by which I find you had not then the news of a new parliament

ment being to be in October; I suppose you had it soon after, and you will have seen I am prepared for patience, not expecting to be sent for home in haste; and truly, I do not see any likelihood when it can be, so long as I have such enemies about his Majesty, and therefore have need of a great stock of patience, I acknowledge. I hope it will last, and you may be sure I shall do nothing hastily, I have not erred on that side yet. I wish in England some considered the good of our family so much as I do, and then things would go better than they do; and to speak freely to you, I have but a very dismal prospect of our affairs in general, and I do not see without a miracle how they can be mended, for his Majesty has so given up himself into the hands of his new counsellors, that I can see nothing but the ruin of the Monarchy; and that which I think is a very bad sign, is, that his Majesty is not so sensible as he should be of the ill condition he is in; you see I speak very freely to you of affairs as I think they now are, and shall always do so. My stag hounds are come, and I intend to begin to hunt this week, and shall do what I can to divert myself. I have now no more to say, but that you shall always find me very kind to you."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—The king orders him to continue abroad.

Bruxells, Aug. 10, 1679.

"**I**T was so late on Monday last when I came from hunting, that I could not then let you know I had had your's of the 3d, by which I saw you were going for Gelderland, and my daughter for Aix, where I hope those waters will do her good. I had yesterday an express from England, who brought me a very kind letter from his Majesty, but tells me I must have patience till the meeting of the parliament, and the trial of the Lords in the Tower is over; that then he hopes things may be in so good a temper as to make it fit for him to send for me over, and till then I must have patience, and

and will do what I can to divert myself in the mean time ; which is all I have now to say, but that you shall find me as kind to you as you can desire."

In Lord Dartmouth's manuscript notes upon bishop Burnet's history, there are the following accounts of three of the Duke of York's letters from Bruffels.

" P. 452. By his own letters from Bruffels, he seems very well satisfied with the civilities he received there, but seems very jealous of the King. In one dated the 22d of July, he writes : There is one thing troubles me very much, and puts odd thoughts into my head, it is, that all this while his Majesty has never said a word, nor gone about to make a good understanding between me and the Duke of Monmouth, for though it is a thing I shall never seek, yet methinks it is what his Majesty might press. Think of this, and I am sure you may draw consequences from it, which I shall not mention to you, but are obvious enough to any one that considers."

" P. 468. I find, by the Duke's letters, he was pleased with the dissolution, but not with the so speedy calling of another (i. e. parliament) which he said was only two months delay, and was giving them so much time to concert their measures better against their next meeting ; for he had little hopes a new parliament would differ much from the last ; but his jealousies of the King continued ; for in one he says, it is strange his Majesty has not written to me, neither in answer to what I wrote by Graham, nor now upon breaking the parliament : I am not used like a brother nor a friend. Press to have some mark of displeasure shewn to Armstrong, if that be not done I know what I am to expect."

" P. 475. The Duke writes, in a letter from Bruffels, I see his Majesty has been much misinformed as to

some things concerning the Duke of Monmouth, for Lord Chancellor Hyde never went about to put any jealousies into my head of my nephew; what he did about the patent, was only what any man that understood the law was obliged to; and I do not remember he ever opened his mouth to me of it: And till he spake to me himself at Windsor, five or six years ago, of his having a mind to be general, I never took any thing ill of him, nor grew jealous of him; but after what I had said to him upon that subject of my reasons against it, and that I told him then freely he was not to expect my friendship if ever he pretended to it or had it. One cannot wonder if I was against any thing that did increase his power in military affairs, as his being colonel of foot guards would have done, especially when I saw he used all little arts, by degrees, to compass his point of being general."

Charles, in the mean time, was not less unhappy in England than his brother was abroad.

In the Depo.

Barillon writes, on the 23d January, 1679, that Charles said he was so poor that he was to recall all his ambassadors, "*faute d'argent*:"—"from want of money."

In the Depo.

Barillon writes, on the 18th May, 1679, that in order to take business and importance from the King, Sir William Temple's council had made a regulation that foreign ministers should not speak to him without first asking an audience.

Others of Barillon's dispatches, relate that Charles complained bitterly of this; and that when Barillon saw him, the meetings were in secret, and with many signs, on the King's part, of the fear of detection. As Charles was the best actor in the world, these things may not be true; and yet perhaps they may.

On

On the 18th May, 1679, Barillon writes, that the Dutchess of Portsmouth told him the King complained greatly of the indifference of France to his present sufferings. In the Depot.

On the 6th July, 1679, Barillon writes his court a long account of a discourse of Charles to him at a secret meeting; in which that Prince, in very abject terms, begged the protection of France from his new council and from parliament, and laid the blame of his late differences with France, upon his brother and Lord Danby. “Le fin de ce long discours fût, de me preser de représenter à votre Majesté ce qui se passe ici, et de le conjurer, de sa part, de vouloir mettre pour toute sa vie l’Angleterre dans sa dépendance.” — “The end of this long discourse was, to press me to represent to your Majesty what was passing here, and to conjure you, on his part, to incline to put England under your dependance for ever.” In the Depot.

Barillon writes, on the 13th July, 1679, that there had been a renewal of the conversation, on the King’s part to the same purpose. In the Depot.

Many of the most extravagant schemes of faction are to be found in Barillon’s accounts of English affairs about this time.

He writes, on the 30th January, 1679, to his court, that Montagu had proposed France should aid Monmouth in getting him declared Prince of Wales; that Montagu said he did so by orders of Monmouth, who had told him that Charles secretly wished it, and only wanted the support of France to bring it about. Barillon says Montagu intends to go to Louis the XIVth to propose this scheme; and that the arguments which Montagu used were, that a disputed succession in England would be of advantage to France; and that the severities In the Depot.

severities against Roman Catholics in England would cease, if the hopes which some entertained of the Prince of Orange's succession, and the fears, which others formed from the prospect of the Duke of York's succession were at an end.

In the Depot.

Barillon writes, on the 13th July, 1679, to his court, that Buckingham boasted to him that he was in no English party, but only in that of Louis the XIVth; and that he insinuated his own pretensions to the succession; recounting that by his mother, who was descended from Edward the IVth, he was himself a Plantagenet.

In the Depot.

On the 14th Sept. 1679, and other dispatches, Barillon writes that Buckingham advised him to give himself no trouble about the pretenders to the crown, but to court and form his connections in the city, which Buckingham pretended was at his direction, and could command the fate of government. And afterwards, on the 28th October, 1680, Barillon writes that Buckingham boasted to him of his vast power with the city and the dissenters.

There is in the *Depot* a letter from Buckingham to Louis the XIVth, in November, 1678, in which he tells that Prince that the Duke of York and Lord Danby had formed a project to get him dethroned, by raising a rebellion in France, and gives him warning that there are certain Irishmen employed to assassinate him. In the same letter he asks a supply of money from Louis.

Barillon writes, on the 20th April, 1679, that Buckingham is gone to propose a project to Louis the XIVth, but that he would not let him know what it was.

Profligacy in public and private life go generally together. Barillon writes, on the 16th March, 1679,
to

to his court, that Buckingham dares not attend the house of Lords in the prosecution of Lord Danby, because Danby threatened him with a prosecution for sodomy.

During this period Charles made a feeble attempt to provide some security for himself at home, by forming two hundred of his disbanded officers into a company of guards, with a view to have officers ready if he should afterwards raise troops; but in this he was checked by one of his own ministers, the earl of Essex. When lord Essex was seized, some years after, on account of the Ryehouse plot, the messenger reported that he found the two following letters in his cabinet. The first is a copy, the other an original, both are in the paper office.

*Earl of Essex to Charles the IIId. — Pressing him to
disband his new guards.*

May it please your Majesty,
 “SINCE my coming to towne I have heard of many discourses here concerning the new company of guards which your Majesty is raising; those who do not wish well to your affairs do rejoice much at it, concluding it will give great cause of jealousy to your people, and prevent the good effects which your Majesty hopes for, this next session of parliament; and that upon this, occasion may be taken to question some guards now in being. ’Tis commonly said that this is but a foundation of a standing army, whilst a body of officers shall be thus kept together to head men which may be suddenly raised: That this is an illusion of the act of disbanding, which intended to separate the officers and soldiers then in pay, when so soon after many of these officers are collected into a body again. There is nothing I do more apprehend than a mistrust men may have that any designe is on foot of governing by
 an

an army, and therefore the least action which may be construed to intend this, cannot at this conjuncture but be very fatal to your Majesty. Your Majesty has gained much upon your people by disbanding the troops raised for Scotland, and I should grieve extremely to see you lose again that credit by framing this new constitution of guards. The world cannot but observe the great frugality your Majesty has begun in your household, and the retrenchments intended on pensions and otherwise ; now if monies shall be thus saved all other waies, and force encreased, what hopes can there be of a supply to relieve your Majesty's pressing occasions, when in so narrow a time as this, the charge of troops being encreased, men will apprehend the money which shall be given will be applied to the like uses. I cannot but acquaint your Majesty of the effect it hath in the treasury, for we do clearly find men much more backward to lend money than they were before. There are divers who have endeavoured to obstruct the credit there ; but 'tis certain they do it now with much more force, whilst they have this pretence to back all they say. I speak nothing but from a heart zealous for your service, and therefore I hope your Majesty will be pleased graciously to accept of what I have said, and make such reflections thereon as may be most for your own good, which is ever the aim of your Majesty's most dutyfull, and most obedient subject and servant,

London, July 21, 1679.

ESSEX.²³

Earl of Sunderland to Lord Essex on the same subject.

"**I**GAVE your Lordship's letter to the King. He cannot yet be persuaded that the new guards will hurt his affairs so much as I believe they will. Sir William T. is now here, and will speak to him of them ; so will the Dutchesse of P. I have done it, and will again. I shall wait upon your lordship to-night or to-morrow morning, and give you a more perfect account

count of this matter. I am most sincerely your lordship's most faithful and most humble servant,

Tuesday.

SUNDERLAND".

After Louis the XIVth had kept King Charles in a painful suspense for some months, subsequent to the dissolution of lord Danby's ministry, he listened to his complaints; to which it is probable the dissolution of his second parliament contributed, and a secret money treaty as usual was set on foot between the two Princes, the particulars of which follow.

The first condition which France exacted in listening to this treaty was, that Charles should not assemble a parliament for a number of years. Charles at first avoided to engage himself to this; but afterwards consented not to assemble it for three years, and after that time not until Louis should give him leave. The two following dispatches contain an account of these things.

*Extrait de la lettre de Mr. Barillon au Roi, du
3 Aout, 1679.*

LE Roi d'Angleterre me donna il y a deux jours, In the Dep^{ts} une longue audience dans l'appartement de Madame de Portsmouth à Windsor. Je lui dis d'abord combien votre Majesté prend de part au malheureux état des ses affaires, et l'envie qu'elle auroit d'y apporter un remede qui pût les rétablir. Ce Prince me répondit, qu'il ne doutoit pas que votre Majesté n'eût quelque déplaisir de voir la royauté attaquée aussi fortement qu'elle l'est en Angleterre, et que ce n'étoit pas son intérêt qu'elle fût détruite; mais qu'il étoit tems que votre Majesté prit une résolution et se déterminât à le secourir d'une somme d'argent qui le mit en état de ne pas recevoir la loi de ses sujets.

sujets. Que s'il étoit assuré de se secours, il eseroit trouver des moyens de remettre ses affaires dans la suite, et de ne plus dépendre du caprice de la chambre basse. Je pris cette occasion pour supplier sa Majesté Britannique de m'expliquer quelles sont ses intentions sur les séances du parlement ; et je lui représentai qu'il étoit fort difficile que votre Majesté pût prendre aucune résolution, qu'elle ne fût pleinement informée de la conduite que l'on devoit tenir ici à l'égard de l'assemblée du parlement, et sans savoir s'il a dessein de s'en passer pour long tems, ou d'en éloigner seulement les séances par des prorogations fréquentes. Le Roi d'Angleterre me répondit, que j'avois vû ce qu'il venoit de faire, et que sans avoir aucune réponse de votre Majesté, ni être instruit de ses intentions à son égard, il avoit pris le parti de casser le parlement ; qu'il en pourroit encore éloigner la séance, selon qu'il connoitroit les bonnes ou les mauvaises dispositions de ceux qui le composeroient ; que cependant il ne pouvoit s'engager ni promettre de se passer absolument du parlement, parcequ'il n'espéroit pas que votre Majesté lui voulût fournir les sommes dont il auroit besoin, pour soutenir les dépenses nécessaires de son Etat, et pour subsister longtemps sans parlement ; qu'il attendoit seulement des marques présentes de la bonne volonté de votre Majesté, qui le mettroient en état de gagner du tems, et de faire voir aux gens mal intentionnés qu'il n'est pas réduit à se remettre entre leurs mains ; que personne ne connoit mieux que lui combien il est important que ce que sa Majesté feroit en sa faveur demeure secret et ne soit pas pénétré. Ce Prince entra ensuite dans le détail de ses affaires, et m'expliqua combien ses revenus sont diminués. Il me fit entendre que la perte qu'il souffre ne se peut réparer entièrement que par le parlement ; mais que pour en venir à bout, il faut que ses sujets connoissent qu'il se peut passer d'eux ; qu'alors ils seront plus traitables et prendront une conduite différente de celle qu'ils ont tenue dans les derniers tems. Je lui dis, que les assemblées du parlement me paroissent

toujours

toujours fort dangereuses, et qu'il étoit difficile de s'en promettre rien de favorable pour ces intérêts, et qu'il seroit toujours exposé à voir le parlement se porter à tout ce qui est contraire à la France, et à le forcer peut être à y entrer lui même. Le Roi d'Angleterre m'interrompit sur cela et me dit : je vois l'état où je suis réduit présentement ; ne croyés pas que je me laisse contraindre à rien faire qui me puisse priver du seul appui qui me peut soutenir. L'obligation que j'aurai au Roi votre maître, me retiendra toute ma vie dans ses intérêts, quand même je ne connoitrois pas par expérience combien il seroit dangereux pour moi de perdre son amitié. Il faut qu'il se fie à moi, et qu'il croye que rien ne sera capable de me faire oublier ce que je ne laisserai pas venir les affaires si avant que je puisse être contraint par le parlement ; et je prendrai pour cela tous les engagemens, et donnerai toutes les sûretés qu'on peut desirer.

Après ces discours généraux, ce Prince me dit, qu'il me prioit d'être bientôt informé des intentions de votre Majesté, et que je fisse mon possible pour avoir une réponse précise et formelle ; qu'il étoit honteux de me parler avec tant d'empressement, et d'être réduit à demander un secours présent à votre Majesté sans lui pouvoir rien offrir de sa part ; que si votre Majesté lui veut donner un secours qui lui puisse être utile, il faut qu'il soit de la somme de quatre millions ; qu'il la regardera comme un don, mais qu'il espère néanmoins être en état de la rendre un jour à votre Majesté, quand il sera mieux dans ses affaires."

Translation.

Translation.

Letter from Mr. Barillon to Louis the XIVth, August 3, 1679.——Charles asks four millions from France in a new treaty.——Avoids a promise not to assemble parliaments:

“TWO days ago the King of England gave me a long audience in lady Portsmouth’s apartment at Windsor. I told him how much your Majesty took part with the unfortunate situation of his affairs, and your desire to afford a remedy which might re-establish them. This Prince answered me, that he did not doubt but your Majesty was displeased to see monarchy attacked so violently as it is in England; and that it was not for your interest it should be destroyed; but it was time your Majesty should take a resolution, and determine yourself to assist him with a sum of money which might put him in a condition not to receive law from his subjects. That if he was certain of this help; he hoped he should find means to re-establish his affairs afterwards, and not any longer depend on the caprice of the house of commons. I took this occasion to beg his Britannick Majesty to explain his intentions with regard to the sitting of parliament; and I represented to him that it was very difficult for your Majesty to take any resolution till you were fully informed of the conduct which would be followed here with regard to the meeting of parliament, and without knowing if he designed to go on without one for a long time, or only to put off the session by frequent prorogations. The King of England answered, that I saw what he had just done; and that, without having any answer from your Majesty, or knowing your intentions with regard to him, he had taken the part of dissolving the parliament; that he could still put off the meeting of a new one, according as he knew the good or bad dispositions of those

those who composed it; that however he could not engage or promise to dispense altogether with parliament, because he had no hopes that your Majesty would furnish the sums necessary for sustaining the expences of the state, and supporting him long without the assistance of parliament; that he only expected some present marks of your Majesty's good will, which might put him in a condition of gaining time, and shewing the malecontents that he was not reduced to put himself into their hands: That no body knew better than him how important it was that what your Majesty may do for him should remain secret and impenetrable. This prince afterwards entered into a detail of his affairs, and explained to me how much his revenues are diminished. He made me understand that the loss he suffers cannot be entirely repaired but by parliament; but to bring this about, it was necessary his subjects should know that he could do without them; and that then they will be more tractable, and follow a different conduct from what they have lately held. I told him, that the meeting of parliament always appeared to me very dangerous, and that it was difficult to promise himself any thing from it favourable to his interests; and that he would be always exposed to see the parliament carry itself in every thing contrary to France, and perhaps force him to enter into such measures himself. The King of England interrupted me upon this and said: I see the state to which I am at present reduced; don't believe I will let myself be constrained to do any thing that can deprive me of the only prop which can support me. The obligation I shall be under to the King your master, will retain me all my life in his interests, even though I did not know by experience how dangerous it would be for me to lose his friendship: he must trust to me, and believe that nothing will be capable to make me forget what I shall owe to him. I will not let affairs go so far, as that parliament shall be able to compel me:

T

And

And for this I will form every engagement, and give every security that can be desired.

After this general discourse, he told me he begged to be soon informed of your Majesty's intentions, and that I would use my endeavours to get a precise and formal answer; that he was ashamed to speak to me so pressingly, and to be reduced to ask a present supply from your Majesty without being able to offer any thing on his own part: that if your Majesty will give him a supply that may be serviceable to him, it must be a sum of four millions; that he shall consider it as a gift; but that he hopes nevertheless to be in a condition one day of returning it to your Majesty, when his affairs shall be in a better way."

Barillon adds in this dispatch, that he suspects Charles will not keep faith with France after he has touched the four millions.

In the *Depot*.

There are in the *Depot* at Versailles many letters from Barillon concerning the adjusting the terms of the treaty, the conduct of which was committed to the Dutchess of Portsmouth and Lord Sunderland. The dispatches shew the intention of it was, that the Duke of York should return, that the King should assemble no parliament for three years, that neither party should enter into treaties prejudicial to the other, that France should not attack Flanders, and that Charles should have a pension. Lord Sunderland asked six millions of livres the first year, and four millions the two next. The Dutchess of Portsmouth came down to four millions for each year. The King himself went lower, offering to take nine millions for the three years, provided four were paid the first year; and haggled hard for these terms. Barillon writes Oct. 2, 1679, that the Duke of York offered to lend his own money to Louis as a mark of his confidence, and to facilitate the money part of the treaty; and Barillon in his letter of 2d Nov. suggests to his court that the first payment shall be made to Charles out of his brother's money. In the

In the *Depot*.

the middle of the treaty, Barillon proposed instead of a pension for three years, to give 500,000 crowns if Charles would engage to call no parliament before the end of March then next : Charles enraged at this shifting of ground, threatened instantly to assemble his parliament and trust himself to it. At last both parties agreed in a pension of one million of livres per annum for three years.

In the course of this treaty the following expressions relative to it were made use of by the King, Lord Sunderland, the Dutchess of Portsmouth, the Duke of York, and Barillon separately.

Charles's words were : “ *Que votre Majesté pouvoit In the Dep't. cependant demeurer dans l'état le plus glorieux ou aucun Roi ait été depuis plusieurs siècles, et mettre pour toujours l'Angleterre hors de pouvoir de lui nuire.* ” — “ That your Majesty might remain in the most glorious state that any King has been in for many ages, and put it out of the power of England ever to hurt you.” And again : “ *Ce Prince (Charles) ensuite m'a repeté tout ce qu'il m'a dit souvent, des avantages que votre Majesté retirera d'avoir l'Angleterre dans sa dependance pour toujours.* ” — “ This Prince (Charles) repeated afterwards all that he had so often said to me, of the advantages which your Majesty might derive from having England always dependant on you.” — With regard to Sunderland, Barillon says : “ *Milord Sunderland s'est fort entendu sur les avantages que votre Majesté retireroit d'avoir le Roi d'Angleterre dans sa dependance.* ” — “ My Lord Sunderland enlarged very much upon the advantages which your Majesty might reap from having the King of England dependant upon you.” — The Dutchess of Portsmouth said : *Si votre Majesté vouloit quatre millions par an, pendant trois années, le Roi d'Angleterre prendroit toutes les engagements que votre Majesté desireroit.* ” — “ If your Majesty will give four millions a year,

year, for three years, the King of England will enter into all the engagements your Majesty can desire." The duke of York, who had come over to England in the course of the treaty, said: "Il espere que votre Majesté considerera, que sa religion et son attachement pour la France sont les sources des oppositions qu'il trouve en Angleterre."———"He hopes your Majesty will consider, that his religion and his attachment to France are the sources of the opposition which he meets with in England." Barillon says: "Je connois par tout ce que m'a été dit, que si on étoit d'accord sur la somme, il n'y auroit aucune difficulté sur le reste; c'est à dire, qu'on donneroit la carte blanche à votre Majesté sur toutes les choses qu'elle pourroit désirer; et qu'on prendroit ici toutes sortes d'engagemens de ne faire aucune traité avec les Princes etrangeres sans son consentiement; on s'obligeroit même à entrer dans toutes les interêts de votre Majesté, et de favoriser toutes ses desseins."———"I know by all that has been said to me, that if the sum was agreed upon, there would be no difficulty about the rest; that is to say, they would give your Majesty a carte blanche upon every thing you could desire; and they would enter into all sorts of engagements not to make any treaty with foreign Princes without your consent, and even oblige themselves to enter into all your interests, and to favour all your designs."

King Charles having communicated to his brother his intention of a treaty with France, the Duke immediately dispatched colonel Churchill from Brussels to Paris to forward it. In the *Depot* there are the following letters from the Duke to Louis the XIVth, and Mons. de Pomponne, upon this occasion.

Lettre du Duc de York au Roi, du 4 Septembre, 1679.

Monfieur,

“**L**E Roi mon frere m’ayant fait part de ce qui s’est ^{In the Depot.} passé entre lui et Mr. de Barillon, pour renouveler l’union et l’ancienne bonne correspondance qu’il y a eû autrefois entre vous, j’ai crû qu’il étoit nécessaire de faire savoir à votre Majesté mes sentimens là dessus ; ce qui m’a obligé d’envoyer ce porteur le Sieur Churchill, maître de ma garderobe, é qui elle peut donner entiere croyance, pour assûrer votre Majesté de la joie que j’ai eue de trouver le Roi mon frere dans ces sentimens là, croyant qu’il n’y a rien de plus utile et pour l’un et pour l’autre. Et pour ce qui est de moi, à moins que le traité ne soit conclu, et la bonne correspondance établie devant l’assemblée du parlement, mes affaires seront en un très méchant état. J’espere que votre Majesté aura la bonté d’y songer, et de donner les mains à ce qui lui sera proposé sur ce sujet. C’est d’elle que j’attends tout, et c’est par elle seule que je puis attendre mon rétablissement en ce pays ci. En fin, ce porteur vous parlera plus au long sur toutes ces affaires ici, et vous fera connoître que j’aurai une reconnaissance éternelle pour les bontés que votre Majesté aura pour moi, et que j’ai tout le respect imaginable pour vous, étant plus que qui que ce soit, Monsieur, de votre Majesté le très affectionné frere, cousin, et serviteur.

(Signé)

J A C Q U E S.”

Translation.

Duke of York to Louis the XIVth, 4th September, 1679.

— Sends colonel Churchill to Paris to forward a treaty between Louis and Charles. — Begs the protection of France.

Sir,

“**T**HE King my brother having communicated to me what has passed between him and Mr. de Barillon, for renewing the union and good correspondance.

dence that was formerly between you, I thought it necessary to let your Majesty know my sentiments upon that head; and this has obliged me to send the bearer, Mr. Churchill, master of my wardrobe, to whom you may give entire credit, to assure your Majesty of the joy I had to find the King my brother in this way of thinking, as I believe there can be nothing more advantageous for both. With regard to myself, unless the treaty is concluded, and a good correspondence established before the meeting of a parliament, my affairs will be in a very bad condition. I hope your Majesty will have the goodness to think of it, and forward what may be proposed to you upon it. It is from you I expect all, and by you alone I can attain my re-establishment in this country. In fine, the bearer will speak to you more at large upon all affairs here, and make known to you that I shall have an eternal gratitude for all your Majesty's goodness to me, and that I have all imaginable respect for you, being more than any one, Sir, your Majesty's very affectionate brother, cousin, and servant.

(Signed) JAMES."

*Lettre de Duc de York a Mr. de Pomponne, du 4.
Septembre, 1679.*

In the *Deport.*

"COMME j'envois ce porteur, le Sieur Churchill, maitre de ma garderobe, pour parler au Roi votre maitre sur le sujet des propositions qui ont été faites à Mr. de Barillon, et pour lui témoigner la joie que j'aie de trouver le Roi mon frere souhaitant de renouveler les anciennes bonnes correspondences qui ont été autre fois entre eux; je l'ai chargé de vous parler tout au long là dessus; et vous pouvés lui donner entiere croyance en tout ce qu'il vous dira de ma part; c'est pourquoi je ne vous dirai plus rien que de vous prier de me continuer vos bons offices auprès le Roi votre maitre, et de croire que je serai toujours tout à fait de vos amis.

(Signé)

J A Q U E S."

Translation.

Translation.

The Duke of York to Mons. de Pomponne, 4th September, 1679.——To the same purpose.

“ **A**S I send the bearer, Mr. Churchill, master of my wardrobe, to speak to the King your master upon the subject of the proposals which have been made to Mr. Barillon, and to testify my joy that the King my brother is desirous of renewing the ancient good correspondence that heretofore was between them ; I have charged him to speak to you at large thereupon ; and you may give entire credit to every thing he shall say on my part ; therefore I shall say nothing more to you than to beg you to continue your good offices for me with the King your master, and to believe that I shall always be entirely one of your friends. (Signed) J A M E S.”

The French court believing that the treaty would go easier on if the Duke of York was in England, advised King Charles to recall his brother. In the *Depot* there is the following letter from the Duke of York to Louis the XIVth, thanking him for this.

Lettre de Duc d'York au Roi, du 18 Octobre, 1679.

Monfieur,

“ **J**E ne puis pas exprimer à votre Majesté avec quelle In the *Depot*.
joye j'ai reçu deux de ses lettres qu'il lui a plu m'écrire, que j'eus la satisfaction de recevoir à mon retour à Bruxelles, puisqu'elles m'ont fait voir que votre Majesté a encore de la bonté pour moi : Je la supplie de croire que j'en ai toute la reconnoissance imaginable, et que je regarde comme les effets des ordres qu'elle a donnés à Mr. de Barillon les ordres que j'ai reçus du Roi mon frere de repasser la mer. Je prétends m'embarquer demain, et veux espérer que votre Majesté me
T 4 continuera

continuera sa protection. C'est d'elle que j'attends mon entier établissement auprès du Roi mon frere, et ferai tout mon possible pour faire voir à votre Majesté, que je serai toute ma vie dans ses intérêts, et chercherai les occasions de faire paroître à votre Majesté, que j'ai tout le respect imaginable pour elle, et que je serai tout ma vie, Monsieur, de votre Majesté le très affectionné frere, cousin, et serviteur.

(Signé)

JACQUES."

Translation.

Letter from the Duke of York to Louis the XIVth, 18 October, 1679. — Thanks him for having prevailed with King Charles to recall him from abroad. — Begs his protection.

"I Cannot express to your Majesty with what joy I received the two letters which you were pleased to write to me, which I had the satisfaction to find at my return to Brussels, as they shew me that your Majesty has still a kindness for me: I beg you to believe that I have all imaginable gratitude for it, and that I look upon the orders I have received from the King my brother, to repass the sea, as the effects of those which you gave to Mr. Barillon. I intend to embark to-morrow, and hope your Majesty will continue to me your protection. From you it is that I expect to be again solidly settled near the King my brother, and shall use my endeavours to shew your Majesty that I shall be all my life in your interests, and seek opportunities of making it appear to you, that I have all the respect imaginable for you, and that all my life I shall be, Sir, your Majesty's very affectionate brother, cousin and servant.

(Signed)

JAMES."

In the Depot.

It appears from Barillon's letter to his court, of 9th October, 1679, that the secret of the intended treaty was then, and not till then, communicated to lord

Hide.

Hide. After this the treaty moves slowly on ; the King hesitates about that part which relates to parliament ; the ministers desire the treaty may be verbal, or at least only signed by the King ; the dispatches describe in strong terms the terrors of lord Hide and lord Sunderland in making themselves parties to the treaty at all ; and at length an alteration made by the French court upon one of the conditions of the treaty, afforded them an opportunity of breaking it off in the end of November, 1679. The alteration was upon that part which provided that neither Prince should enter into alliances prejudicial to the other. Barillon, upon the margin of the King of France's part of this engagement, added these words : " That is to say, to make no offensive treaty against his Britannick Majesty." Charles's ministers saw, and, as Barillon relates, represented to the French court, but in vain, that the obligation upon the King of France was not so extensive as upon the King of England ; that the ministers who submitted to such an inequality might lose their heads if it ever was discovered ; and that under the words of the alteration, the French were at liberty even to guarantee the right of fishing disputed between the English and the Dutch, and then draw England into a war with Holland, in which France would not only not be on the side of England, but be obliged to act against her.

A copy of the intended treaty, with the marginal note which was the cause of breaking it off, is in the *Depot* as follows. It will not escape the observation of the reader in perusing it, that the French part of it was to be sealed by the great seal of France, whereas the English part of it was to be signed by the King of England alone, without any of his ministers, and to be sealed by his privy seal.

*Projet de Traité.**In the Depot.*

“ **L**E Roi très Chrétien et le Roi de la Grande Bretagne ayant toujours souhaité de conserver une union étroite, et une entière liaison entre leurs personnes, états et royaumes, dont ils se sont donnés des marques réciproques et infaillibles dans les derniers tems, leur intention est de renouveler présentement les engagements qu'ils ont pris depuis longtems d'une amitié ferme et inviolable. Pour cet effet sa Majesté très Chrétienne a donné un plein pouvoir au Sieur de Barrillon, conseiller ordinaire en son conseil d'état, et son ambassadeur extraordinaire en Angleterre, pour convenir avec sa Majesté Britannique (ou telles personnes qu'il lui plairoit commettre) des conditions d'un traité: Sa Majesté Britannique de sa part a consenti de s'engager elle même, et de signer les articles suivans,

I. Sa Majesté très Chrétienne ayant une intention sincere et véritable de conserver la paix qui a été conclue à Nimegue, promet de n'attaquer point pendant trois ans les Pays-bas qui sont sous la domination d'Espagne, ni ceux qui sont sous la domination des Etats Généraux des Provinces Unies.

II. Sa Majesté Britannique promet pendant le dit terme de trois ans de ne faire aucun traité ni alliance avec quelque Prince ou état que ce puisse être, sans la participation et le consentement de sa Majesté très Chrétienne; et sa dit Majesté Britannique renonce dès à présent à tout ce qu'elle pourroit avoir ci devant fait avec aucun Prince ou état, qui se trouveroit contraire à l'amitié et à la bonne intelligence qu'elle desire entretenir avec sa Majesté très Chrétienne; et consent sa dit Majesté Britannique que tout ce qui auroit été traité demeure nul à cet égard.

Articles

Article proposé par le Roi d'Angleterre.

III. Sa Majesté très Chrétienne promet pareillement de ne faire aucun traité pendant le tems de trois ans, avec quelque Prince ou état que ce soit, au préjudice de sa Majesté Britannique. *

* L'Ambassadeur de France se propose d'ajouter à cet article les mots suivans, c'est à dire, de ne faire aucune ligue offensive contre sa Majesté Britannique.

Tout ce que dessus a été consenti, et accordé entre le Roi d'Angleterre et le dit Sieur Ambassadeur, et a sa Majesté Britannique signé de sa main, et promis garder et observer tout ce qui est contenu dans le présent traité, sans y contrevenir, et s'oblige d'en fournir la ratification, scellée de son sceau secret, dans trois semaines, à compter d'aujourd'hui. Et a pareillement le dit Sieur de Barillon, ambassadeur de sa Majesté très Chrétienne auprès du Roi de la Grande Bretagne, signé, et promis au nom de sa Majesté très Chrétienne, de garder et observer tout ce qui est contenu dans le présent traité sans y contrevenir, et d'en fournir la ratification du Roi son maître, scellée du grand sceau, dans le même tems de trois semaines. Fait à Londres ce, &c."

Article secret.

" I. SA Majesté très Chrétienne promet de faire payer à sa Majesté Britannique la somme d'un million de livres tournois par an pendant trois ans, à compter d'aujourd'hui, laquelle somme d'un million sera payée par chacune année à Londres, en quatre payemens égaux, de trois mois en trois mois, à condition toutesfois que sa Majesté Britannique n'assemblera point son parlement pendant trois ans; et en cas que pendant les dits trois ans le parlement fût assemblé, sa Majesté très Chrétienne pourra faire cesser les payemens qui resteront à faire.

II. Sa Majesté Britannique considérant que pour plusieurs raisons qui ne regardent que le dedans de son royaume,

royaume, et que ne peuvent être prévues, il pourroit être nécessaire d'assembler son parlement pendant trois ans, se réserve la liberté de la faire, promettant, en cas qu'elle s'y trouve obligée, de ne pas souffrir qu'il se traite aucune chose au préjudice de son alliance avec sa Majesté très Chrétienne ; mais plutôt de proroger ou de casser le parlement, si elle ne le pouvoit empêcher autrement ; et consent sa dit Majesté Britannique, que sa Majesté très Chrétienne soit juge elle même, si les payemens qui resteront à faire d'un million par an devront être continués.

Les dits articles secrets auront même force que s'ils étoient expressément contenus dans le traité signé ce jourd'hui entre sa Majesté Britannique et le Sieur de Barillon, ambassadeur de France ; et la ratification en sera fournie en la même manière et en même tems. Fait à Londres ce, &c."

Translation.

Draught of a Treaty.——France is not to attack the Low Countries.——Neither party is to make alliances without consent of the other.——Charles is not to assemble a parliament for three years.——And to get a pension of a million of livres per annum for that time.

"**T**HE most Christian King and the King of Great Britain having always wished to preserve a strict and entire union between their persons, states, and kingdoms, of which they have given reciprocal and infallible marks in late times, their intention is now to renew the engagements they entered into a long time ago for a firm and inviolable friendship. To effect this, his most Christian Majesty hath given full powers to the Sieur Barillon, Counsellor in ordinary in his Council of State, and his Ambassador Extraordinary in England, to agree with his Britannick Majesty (or such persons as he may please to appoint) on conditions of a treaty. His Britannick Majesty on his part hath con-

sented.

tented to stand bound himself, and to sign the following articles.

I. His most Christian Majesty having a sincere and true intention to preserve the peace which has been concluded at Nimeguen, promises not to attack the Low Countries that are under the dominion of Spain, nor those that are under the dominion of the States General of the United Provinces, during three years.

II. His Britannick Majesty promises during the said term of three years not to make any treaty or alliance with any Prince or State whatsoever, without the participation and consent of his most Christian Majesty ; and his said Britannick Majesty renounces from this time all treaties he may heretofore have made with any Prince or State which may prove inconsistent with the friendship and good intelligence he desires to keep with his most Christian Majesty ; and his said Britannick Majesty consents that whatever may have been concluded shall remain null in that respect.

Article proposed by the King of England.

III. His most Christian Majesty promises equally not to make any treaty during the term of three years with any Prince or State whatsoever to the prejudice of his Britannick Majesty. *

* The French ambassador proposes to add to this article the following words: That is to say, not to make any offensive league against his Britannick Majesty.

All the above has been consented to, and agreed upon between the King of England and the said Ambassador, and signed with his Britannick Majesty's hand, who promises to keep and observe all that is contained in the present treaty without contravening it, and obliges himself to deliver the ratification of it sealed with his privy seal within three weeks to be computed from this day. In like manner the said Sieur Barillon, Ambassador from his most Christian Majesty to the King of Great Britain, has signed, and promised in the name of his most Christian Majesty, to keep and observe all that is contained

contained in the present treaty without contravening it, and to deliver the King his master's ratification sealed with the great seal within the said time of three weeks. Done at London this, &c.

Secret article.

“ I. **H**IS most Christian Majesty promises to pay to his Britannick Majesty the sum of one million of livres tournois per annum for three years, to be computed from this day, which sum of one million shall be paid every year in London by four equal payments from three months to three months; upon condition always that his Britannick Majesty shall not assemble his parliament during three years; and in case during the said three years the parliament shall be assembled, his most Christian Majesty may cause the payments that remain to cease.

II. His Britannick Majesty considering for many reasons which regard only the interior of his kingdom, and which cannot be foreseen, that he may be under the necessity of assembling his parliament within three years, reserves to himself the liberty of doing it, promising, in case he finds himself obliged thereto, not to suffer any thing to be treated of to the prejudice of his alliance with his most Christian Majesty, but rather to prorogue or dissolve the parliament, if he cannot otherwise prevent it; and his said Britannick Majesty consents that his most Christian Majesty shall himself be judge if the payments that shall remain to be made of a million per year ought to be continued.

The said secret articles shall have the same force as if they were expressly contained in the treaty signed this day between his Britannick Majesty and the Sieur de Barillon, Ambassador from France, and the ratification shall be declared in the same manner, and at the same time. Done at London, &c.”

Whilst attempts were making to adjust the terms of this treaty, the Duke of York had come over to England upon account of his brother's illness; but finding him recovered, he soon returned again to Brussels. During this visit there are in King William's box the following letters from the Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.——He has come to England on account of his brother's illness.——Uncertain if he shall not be obliged to return.

Windfor, Sept. 6, 1679.

“**I**HAD so much business upon my hands, and so many people to speak to on Tuesday last which was the post day, and the day I arrived here, that I could not get a moment's time to write to you to let you know of my being come safe hither. I found his Majesty upon the mending hand, who received me very kindly; and now, God be thanked, he has got so much strength that he walks into the Park. I cannot yet say what will become of me, having had no discourse with his Majesty; but by what I have had with some others, believe I may be sent back again, because they think it best to have me away when the parliament sits; for my part, I am content to do what his Majesty shall think best for his service. I am very glad to find I have so many friends left, and that his Majesty has been undeceived in one thing that had been told him, which was, that there would be a rebellion, and that the city would rise in case I came back; but neither of these have happened, and the city is very quiet, and most of the rich men there are pleased with it. By the next post I shall be able to say more to you, and be always assured of the continuance of my kindness to you.”

Duke

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.——Is to return abroad again.

Windsor, Sept. 9, 1679.

“**I** RECEIVED last night your’s of the 12th, and I see by it you were surprized at my coming hither; I have written to you since my being here, and though his Majesty will have me return back to Bruxells, which I shall obey, yet I am of opinion my journey hither will prove advantageous to me. By my next I shall be able to explain it to you. His Majesty is, God be praised, very well, and has quite recovered his strength. There is yet no day set for his going to Newmarket, nor for my setting out for Bruxells; I believe they will be both at the same time. His Majesty is just a-going abroad, and I must wait on him, so that I have not time to say more, but that you shall always find me very kind to you.”

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.——Duke of Monmouth disgraced.——Lord Sunderland is to manage the department of the General’s business.

Windsor, Sept. 12, 1679.

“**I** BELIEVE you will be as much surprized with the news you will have now, as with that of my coming for England; it is, that the Duke of Monmouth is commanded to go out of England, and his command of General taken from him, which though it may make him more popular amongst the ill men, and seditious people, will quite dash his foolish hopes that he so vainly pursued. This his Majesty resolved in upon its being represented to him, that it was not reasonable to leave the Duke of Monmouth here, and send me back again into Flanders, which he thought necessary for his service. The day for my going is not yet named, for he must go first, but I believe it will be about the end of next week; he has of himself given up his command

mand of the Horse Guards, desiring the Duke of Grafton may have that command; as for the Generalship, no body will have it more; one of the Secretaries, which will be the Earl of Sunderland, is to manage that affair, as M. de Louvois does in France. All things are very quiet in the city and country, and will continue so if his Majesty does but please. I have not time to say more now, but that you shall always find the continuance of my kindness to you.

I am told the Duke of Monmouth intends for Hamburg."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange — Both Dukes are to go abroad.

Windsor, Sept. 16, 1679.

"SINCE my last to you I have received your's of the 19th from Hounslardike, and by the last post gave you an account of what had passed concerning the Duke of Monmouth, who, as I have been informed, has not behaved himself as became him to his Majesty, for he has kept very ill company at London, and not followed his Majesty's orders in having no more to do with such kind of men. Mr. Mountagu is one of his State Counsellors, and all the Presbyterians and dissenting people flock to him, and endeavour to persuade him to disobey his Majesty's commands, and not to go; but his Majesty sent for him to come hither yesterday, intending, as I was told, to appoint a day for his going, and to give him good advice. I am informed the day is not set, he saying he had a great deal of business to do; however, some say it will be Monday or Tuesday next, and when he is gone I am to set out a day or two after, his Majesty being still of opinion it is for his service I should go beyond sea again; and though I am not of that mind I must obey. To-morrow we go to London, and by the next post I believe I shall be able to say when I shall go, which is all I have to say now, but that you shall always find me very kind to you."

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Duke

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—On the same subject.

London, Sept. 23, 1679.

“ I SEE by your’s of the 26th from Hounslardike, that you were very much surprized at the news I wrote you concerning the Duke of Monmouth; I do not at all wonder at it, for most people here were so too. He has used with his Majesty all the persuasions he could to get leave to stay but for some time longer, but could not obtain it; and to-morrow he is to go. I am told he intends for Utrecht, and to stay there, having no mind to be far from hence: I am also to go away on Thursday for Bruxells, and on Friday their Majesties go for Newmarket, where his stay will not be long, at least I hope so, for his presence here is very necessary in such troublesome times as these. So soon as I come to Bruxells you shall hear from me, for news I have not time to say more, but that I shall always be as kind to you as you can desire.

For my sonne, the Prince of Orange.”

In the mean time the prospect of the success of the above treaty with France had given courage to Charles: He dismissed Shaftesbury from being President of the new Council; he prorogued his parliament, and recalled his brother from abroad; yet he dared not to keep him near his person, but sent him into Scotland.

Upon this occasion there is in King William’s box the following letter from the Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.

Duke

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.——He is to go to Scotland.——Connexion between republican party in England and Holland.

London, Oct. 17, 1679. :

“**I**N my last I gave you an account of my arrival here, since when his Majesty has put out Lord Shaftesbury from being President of the Council; and this day the parliament was prorogued till the 26th of January, notwithstanding which my journey for Scotland continues, and I hope within a few days to begin my journey by land, though the ways are like to be very bad by reason of the great rains which have been of late, and still continue. I had not time in my last to let you know a piece of intelligence I had, which it is fit you should know, it is, that there is a private correspondence between Lord Shaftesbury and some parliament men of his faction, and some of those are called here the Louestin party in Holland, which I am sure cannot be to your advantage; and had the parliament set now, they would have proceeded in it. I hope the little man's being out of employment here may help to break those measures; however, you would do well to look a little after it where you are, for believe me the Presbyterians and other republicans here have as little kindness for you as the rest of our family, which is all I have to say now, but that I shall ever be as kind to you as you can desire.”

It is one of the features of the Duke of York's character, that at all times whether when he was heir to the crown, possessed it, or had lost it, his mind was improved by misfortunes. His conduct in Scotland during his first banishment there is known both from history and tradition to have been irreproachable. He was conscious and vain of it himself, as appears from the following note of Lord Dartmouth upon Bishop Burnet's history.

*Extract from Lord Dartmouth's manuscript notes upon
Bishop Burnet's history.*

“**I**N a letter dated the 14th of December, the Duke says, “ I live here as cautiously as I can, and am very careful to give offence to none, and to have no partialities, and preach to them laying aside all private animosities, and serving the King his own way. None shall have reason to complain of me ; and though some of either party here (i. e. in Scotland) might have hoped I should have shewed my partiality for them, and some of my friends have been of opinion it had been best for me to have done so, and by it have secured one side to me : yet I am convinced it was not fit for me to do it, it being no way good for his Majesty's service, which I can make out by many reasons which would be too long for a letter.”

Secret as the attempts to a treaty between Charles and Louis had been they did not escape the vigilant eye of the Prince of Orange. He wrote his suspicions to the Duke of York ; but the Duke denied the treaty, as appears from the following letter in King William's box from him to the Prince of Orange.

*Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.——Denies the
late attempt to a French treaty.*

Edinburgh, Nov. 27, 1679.

“**I** RECEIVED yesterday your's of the 24th, and arrived here on Monday, and was received here as well as at the borders of this kingdom, as well as I could expect, and truly I have great reason to be satisfied with my reception in this country. As for what you say you heard at your arrival at the Hague of a new league made between England and France, the same news has come here, a flying report, but not from
good

good hands, and I do not believe it. But before this Mr. Sidney is with you, and can inform you better than I can who have been so long from London, and so little there, and so far from it, of what passes there. This place affords no news at all, but that the weather continues still very good ; so that I have no more to say, but that you shall find no alteration in my kindness to you.

For my sonne, the Prince of Orange."

The prospect of the success of this treaty, which was, as Charles and his ministers expressed it, to have put England into a state of dependance upon France, and to have relieved Louis for three years from all fears of an English parliament, had had an effect in France also. It produced a parsimony in the councils of that kingdom with regard to the popular party in England. Among several instances of this in the dispatches, there is the following letter from Mr. Montague to Mons. de Pomponne, complaining of it as affecting himself.

Lettre de Mr. de Montaigne au Ministre, du 26 Octobre, 1679.

“ **Q**UOIQUE je sache qu'on vous importune sou- In the Depot.
vent de ma part, je ne puis, Monsieur, me
dispenser de vous importuner encore moi même ; on
me presse d'une si étrange manière, et j'ai affaire à des
gens si intéressés, que je suis en un embarras dont je ne
puis me tirer sans votre secours. Vous savés, Monsieur,
qu'il y a près de huit mois que j'ai entièrement satisfait
à ce à quoi je m'étois engagé ; et si vous prenés la peine
de relire les lettres de ce pays d'entre le 15. et le 25
Octobre, 1678, vous verrés qu'il n'y a pas la moindre
difficulté à mon affaire, et même que l'événement a
beaucoup passé mes espérances. La personne que le
Roi emploie ici a été témoin de ma conduite : il sait
U 3 que

que pour satisfaire à l'engagement où j'étois entré avec lui de refuser toutes les propositions qu'on me feroit, quelques avantageuses qu'elles fussent, il m'eût coûté soixante mille écus, sans compter ce que j'avois perdu auparavant, et ce que je viens de perdre depuis six semaines. Je suis persuadé, Monsieur, que je n'ai pas besoin de représenter toutes ces choses au Roi pour l'obliger à exécuter la promesse qu'il a eû la bonté de me faire; je sais combien sa parole est inviolable; mais on me persecute de tous côtés, et si le Roi n'a la bonté de donner ses ordres pour me tirer de la peine où je suis, je suis sur le point d'être réduit à la nécessité, ou de perdre mon crédit et ma réputation, ou de vendre mes terres pour dégager les paroles que j'ai données sur celle du Roi. Il n'y a point de jour que je ne sois exposé à des persécutions, d'autant plus désagréables que les gens qui me les font sont en droit de me les faire. L'affaire dont il s'agit est si peu considérable, que je ne doute point qu'elle ne finisse promptement, si vous me faites la grace de représenter au Roi ce que je vous mande. Vous m'avez témoigné tant de bontés en plusieurs rencontres, que j'espère que vous ne me refuserés pas votre assistance en celle ci. Je vous demande pardon de l'embarras que je vous donne, et de la manière dont je vous écris, mais vous savés, Monsieur, les raisons que j'ai d'en user ainsi, et le danger où je me mettrois si j'écrivois de ma main. Je suis, &c."

Translation.

Letter from Mr. Montague to the Minister, 26 October, 1679.—Claims the French King's promise for the Money due to him for ruining Lord Danby.

"**A**LTHOUGH I know you are often importuned on my account, I cannot, Sir, dispense with importuning you myself; I am pressed in so strange a manner, and have such interested persons to deal with, that I am in an embarrassment, from which I cannot draw

draw myself without your help. You know, Sir, there are near eight months run since I absolutely fulfilled what I engaged myself for; and if you will be at the trouble of reading over the letters from this country between the 15th and the 25th October, 1678, you will see there is not the least difficulty in my affair, and that the event has even gone beyond my hopes. The person whom the King employs here has been a witness of my conduct: he knows, that to perform the engagement I entered into with him for refusing all proposals which might be made to me, however advantageous they might be, has cost me sixty thousand crowns, without reckoning what I lost before, and have lost within these six weeks. I am persuaded, Sir, that I have no need to represent all these things to the King, to induce him to execute the promise he had the goodness to make me; I know how inviolable his word is; but I am persecuted on all sides, and if the King is not so good as to give orders to extricate me from the trouble I am in, I am upon the point of being reduced to the necessity either of losing my credit and my reputation, or of selling my estates to disengage the promises I gave upon the promise of the King. There is not a day but I am exposed to persecutions, the more disagreeable as the people who make them have a right to do it. The affair in question is so trifling that I cannot doubt of its being speedily finished, if you will do me the favour to represent to the King what I have wrote. You have shewn me so many kindnesses on many occasions, that I hope you will not refuse me your assistance in this. I ask pardon for the trouble I give you, and the manner in which I write, but you know, Sir, the reasons I have to act thus, and the danger I should put myself in if I wrote this with my own hand. I am, &c."

Upon the breaking off the treaty with France in the end of November, 1679, Charles, to gain popularity

to himself, made the most public advances to the Dutch and Spaniards; and in the Duke of York's absence in Scotland, made a defensive alliance with Spain. Louis the XIVth, had in the mean time, seen too late his error. Barillon, as appears by his dispatch of 1st February, 1680, got leave from his court to yield the disputed article upon the margin of the treaty, and to offer Charles a pension of 500,000 crowns for three years.

In the Depot.

Barillon writes to his court, on the 22d February, 1680, that he delays renewing the proposal for the treaty till the Duke shall come from Scotland, whom he expects soon. On the 14th March, 1680, he writes to his court that the Duke of York was arrived, and had complained to him that Lord Sunderland and the Dutchess of Portsmouth had taken advantage of his absence to get the French alliance broken off, and the Spanish one formed; and that they had pressed for the last of these measures in order to gain popularity to themselves. After this, Barillon's dispatches give an account of several attempts, made by him and the Duke of York in the spring and summer of the year 1680, to set proposals on foot again for a treaty with France.

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Charles resisted them all; his apologies, as Barillon relates them, were reproaches of kindness. Barillon writes to his court, 27 June, 1680, that Charles used the following expressions to him upon one of those occasions. "Qu'il n'avoit tenu qu'à votre Majesté d'avoir une alliance avec lui, et que s'il osoit le dire, c'étoit la seconde faute qui s'étoit fait en France de cette nature; que quand la triple alliance se fist, il en avoit averti Mr. de Rouvigny long temps auparavant; que je sçavois ee qu'il m'avoit dit et offert."—"That the want of an alliance lay at your Majesty's door, and if he dared to say so, it was the second fault of this kind which had been committed in France; that when the triple alliance was made, he had given information of it to Mr. de Rouvigny beforehand: That I knew what he had said and offered to myself." This was a repetition

In the Depot.

of

of what he had said to Barillon some months before ; for Barillon, on the 12th February, 1679, wrote that Charles said : “ Que lorsque la triple ligue se fist, il avertit long temps auparavant Mr. de Rouvigny d’avoir des ordres de votre Majesté, et des pouvoirs pour conclure.”—“ That when the triple alliance was made, he gave warning to Mons. Rouvigny a long time before, that he might receive orders from your Majesty, and powers to conclude with him.”

In the mean time, upon the breaking off of the treaty with France in November, 1679, Louis had given orders to Barillon to renew his intrigues with the popular party in England, and to let him know the names and characters of the chief of those with whom he had connected himself. Barillon in answer writes the following detail.

Extrait de la lettre de Mr. Barillon, du 14 Decembre, 1679.

Sire,

“ **C**ONFORMEMENT aux ordres que votre Ma- In the Defes.
 jesté m’a donnés, je suis rentré en commerce avec les gens du parlement que j’ai crû pouvoir être utiles à son service à l’avenir. J’avois toujours entretenu des liaisons avec eux pour m’en servir au besoin. Je rendrai compte présentement du détail comme sa Majesté le prescrit par sa dernière dépêche.

J’ai pris en tous les temps fort grand soin de ménager l’esprit de milord Hollis, et je crois l’avoir maintenu dans des sentimens fort favorables aux intérêts de votre Majesté. C’est l’homme d’Angleterre pour qui toutes les différentes cabales ont le plus de considération. Il est généralement respecté de tous les partis, mais principalement des Presbyteriens. Rien ne m’a tant servi auprès de lui que l’offre que je lui ai faite de la part de votre Majesté d’une boîte de portrait de diamans. Il a témoigné beaucoup de reconnoissance pour cette marque
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de l'estime que votre Majesté fait de lui ; mais il n'a point accepté le présent, et je l'ai encore entre les mains. Je l'ai pressé plusieurs fois de le prendre, il s'en est toujours défendu, et m'a dit qu'il serviroit votre Majesté avec moins de scrupule et plus utilement s'il ne l'acceptoit pas, et qu'il ne pouvoit s'y résoudre sans la permission du Roi de la Grande Bretagne, étant présentement de son conseil. J'ai combattu par de bonnes raisons la proposition qu'il m'a faite, de dire à sa Majesté Britannique que votre Majesté lui voulût faire un présent, sous un prétexte aussi peu apparent que celui de n'en avoir point reçu au sortir de son ambassade de France. Cependant je puis assurer votre Majesté que dans l'affaire de grand Trésorier et du licenciement de l'armée, personne n'a été plus utile à votre Majesté que milord Hollis.

Quoiqu'il n'aille pas souvent au parlement, il est consulté par beaucoup de gens, et ses avis sont d'une grand poids. Il est fort modéré sur le sujet de Mr. le Duc d'York, et se déclare qu'il ne peut consentir à son exclusion ; mais, en même tems il seroit d'avis que le pouvoir d'un Roi Catholique fût limité. Il appréhende que la cour ne conserve toujours le dessein de gouverner plus absolument que les loix d'Angleterre ne le permettent, et il connoit que votre Majesté seule peut faciliter le succès d'un tel dessein. C'est pourquoi il voudroit que la nation ne s'emportât pas contre la France, et croit que ce seroit une grande imprudence que de donner quelque sujet de mécontentement à un Prince si puissant, et qui peut si aisément leur nuire. Je vois quelque fois milord Hollis, mais, pour ne pas rendre suspectes des visites trop fréquentes, nous avons commerce ensemble par le Sieur Beber ; c'est un homme qui a un grand crédit sur l'esprit de milord Hollis, et qui est fort considéré parmi les Presbyteriens. Il m'a été fort utile en beaucoup d'occasions, et c'est par lui que j'ai été averti à tems de ce qui se passe dans les différentes cabales. J'ai eû par la même personne, une étroite liaison avec le Sieur Lidleyton, qui est un des
plus

plus confiderables de la Chambre basse, et dont les avis ont été toujours les plus suivis. J'ai conservé aussi une correspondance particulière avec le Sieur Pouele. Il a été mis dans le conseil lorsqu'on y mit des gens opposés à la cour, il s'est ménagé depuis ce tems là, en sorte qu'il peut toujours être utile quand le parlement s'assemblera ; c'est un homme propre à remplir une des premières charges d'Angleterre. Il est très éloquent et très habile. Notre premier commerce est venu par le moyen de Mr. de Montaigu ; mais je l'ai entretenu depuis cela de mon chef, et fort secrètement.

Le Sieur Harbord est encore de ceux de qui je me suis servi, et qui a beaucoup agi dans l'affaire du grand Trésorier et du licenciement des troupes ; mais il seroit difficile de l'employer présentement. C'est un homme qui a assez de crédit parmi les gens des provinces. Il seroit plus propre si on vouloit attaquer un ministre, qu'il ne le sera pour parler dans le parlement contre une alliance que la cour voudroit faire et qu'on voudroit empêcher.

Ces quatre personnes ont touché ce qui leur avoit été promis quand le licenciement des troupes seroit fait, et que Mr. le grand Trésorier seroit hors des affaires.

J'envoie un mémoire à part par lequel votre Majesté verra ce qui a été donné pour cela, et pour quelques autres dépenses faites par ces ordres.

M. de Sidney m'a été d'une grande utilité en bien des occasions. C'est un homme qui a été dans les premières guerres, et qui naturellement est ennemi de la cour. On l'a soupçonné depuis quelque tems de s'être laissé gagner par milord Sonderland ; mais il me paroît toujours avoir les mêmes sentimens, et n'avoir point changé de maximes. Il a beaucoup de crédit parmi les indépendans, et est ami intime de ceux qui sont les plus opposés à la cour dans le parlement ; il a été élu pour celui ci. Je ne lui ai donné que ce que votre Majesté m'a permis. Il auroit bien voulu avoir d'avantage, et si on lui faisoit quelque gratification nouvelle, il seroit aisé de l'engager entièrement. Cependant il est dans des dispositions,

dispositions fort favorables pour ce que votre Majesté peut desirer, et ne voudroit pas que l'Angleterre et les Etats Généraux fissent une ligue. Il est fort mal avec son frere qui est en Hollande, et se moque de ce que la cour s'en sert comme d'un négociateur. Je crois que c'est un homme qui seroit fort utile, si les affaires d'Angleterre se portoient à l'extrémité.

Depuis le tems qu'on a parlé d'une alliance entre les Etats Généraux et l'Angleterre, j'ai pris beaucoup de soin d'entretenir les défiances que quelques gens des plus considérables du parlement ont contre Mr. le Prince d'Orange ; ils appréhendent que son union avec la cour ne rende le gouvernement plus ferme et plus autorisé : mais à dire vérité comme elle me paroît, je ne crois pas qu'il fût possible d'empêcher que le parlement n'approuvât une ligue qui seroit faite avec les Etats Généraux pour garantir la paix. Tout ce qui pourroit se pratiquer dans la suite (si cela arrivoit) ce seroit d'empêcher le parlement de donner des sommes considérables ; ainsi je ne crois pas devoir proposer à votre Majesté de faire présentement de nouvelles dépenses dont le succès seroit fort douteux. Il sera toujours tems de faire des gratifications, et d'en promettre à ceux dont on voudra se servir, lorsqu'on verra que le parlement se doit assembler.

Si votre Majesté croit que je doive encore presser milord Hollis d'accepter la boîte de diamans, je pourrois par le moyen de madame Hollis la faire accepter ; et je ne présume pas qu'elle fût si difficile qu'il l'a été. J'attendrai aussi les ordres de votre Majesté pour offrir quelque chose aux autres dont j'ai fait mention, et je ne me servirai de la permission qu'elle me donnera qu'en des occasions que je croirai essentielles pour son service.

Je dois rendre compte à votre Majesté de ce qui regarde Mr. de Montaigu séparément des autres, étant engagé comme il est dans les intérêts de votre Majesté par des considérations particulières. J'ai eû assez de peine à me défendre depuis six mois des instances qu'il m'a faites pour le payement de la somme qui lui a été promise.

promise pour la perte de Mr. le grand Trésorier. Il prétend que la condition est accomplie de sa part. J'ai toujours essayé de lui faire connoître que ce n'étoit pas une affaire entièrement finie, et qu'étant pleinement assuré de ce qui lui a été promis, il ne devoit pas s'inquieter que le paiement se fit un peu plutôt ou plus tard. Il ne se rend point à mes raisons. Les deux voyages que le Sieur Falaiseau a faits inutilement, le feroient résoudre d'aller lui même solliciter le paiement de la somme qu'il prétend, s'il avoit pû quitter l'Angleterre dans un tems où les affaires sont dans un si grande mouvement, et aux quelles il a une très grande part. Votre Majesté se souviendra, s'il lui plaît, que Mr. Montaigu me parla au mois de Janvier passé, pour essayer de faire en sorte qu'elle voulût favoriser la prétention de Mr. de Montmouth : c'étoit le principal motif de son voyage en France quand il fût arrêté à Douvres. Mr. de Montaigu connût bien dans la suite par la retenue avec laquelle je lui parlai sur cette affaire, que votre Majesté n'étoit pas disposée à soutenir un dessein si injuste, et qui paroïssoit a lors fort chimérique. Nous n'avons pas laissé d'avoir un grand commerce ensemble, et de conserver beaucoup de liaison pour les autres affaires. Il m'a souvent parlé de mettre milord Schafberi dans les intérêts de votre Majesté, et prétend que ce ne seroit pas une chose impossible si on vouloit y employer une somme considérable. Je ne sais si votre Majesté jugera utile à son service d'y travailler présentement ; ce seroit un moyen fort propre pour susciter de nouveaux embarras au Roi d'Angleterre, et milord Schafberi seroit encore plus hardi, s'il se sentoît appuyé secrettement de votre Majesté ; mais il seroit difficile de le détourner des engagements qu'il a contre Mr. le Duc d'York, et de l'empêcher de travailler pour l'élévation de Mr. le Duc de Montmouth, ou pour celle de Mr. le Prince d'Orange ; car ses desseins sont assez difficiles à pénétrer, et peut être a-t'il pour but principal de travailler à l'établissement d'une république, dont il essayeroit d'être le chef.

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Si votre Majesté me permet de dire ce que je pense qui se doit faire présentement à l'égard de Mr. de Montaigu, je crois qu'elle me commandera de lui donner encore des assurances positives du payement de ce qui lui a été promis, et qu'elle marquera un tems certain dans lequel ce payement sera actuellement fait. Si, après cela, votre Majesté veut par son moyen, et par le moyen de madame Hervey sa sœur, gagner des membres du parlement, je puis répondre qu'on ne sauroit trouver deux personnes plus propres à traverser tous les desseins de la cour. C'est par une intrigue de madame Hervey que j'ai fait conserver à Bruxelles un nommé Bullstrode, que Mr. de Louvois me manda en ce tems là être utile au service de votre Majesté. Ma principale application a été avec tous ceux dont j'ai fait présentement mention, de leur ôter le soupçon que votre Majesté veuille faire un traité avec le Roi d'Angleterre. J'ai néanmoins observé de ne point donner sur cela de paroles positives, principalement à milord Hollis : je lui ai seulement dit en général, que votre Majesté ne prendroit jamais d'engagement avec sa Majesté Britannique qui puisse être préjudiciable à la liberté et aux privileges des Anglois.

Je ne dirai rien à votre Majesté sur le sujet de Mr. le Duc de Bouquingham, parcequ'il n'est pas ici présentement, et que votre Majesté connoit par elle même de quel usage il peut être pour son service. Je ne doute pas qu'il n'ait été mal satisfait du refus que je fis cet été de lui donner les vingt mille écus, dont il croyoit pouvoir disposer. J'aime mieux lui laisser croire que je faisois cette épargne de mon chef, que de lui faire connoître que j'en avois l'ordre. Comme je le vis dans le dessein d'aller en France, et que je ne doute pas qu'il n'y ait été, je crois que lorsqu'il paroitra ici, je le trouverai disposé à servir votre Majesté quand les occasions s'en présenteront. Il ne me paroît pas qu'il ait un grand crédit dans le parlement, mais il pourroit être plus utile à l'égard du peuple, et dans les tems de troubles. Ce ne sont pas les esprits réglés qui font les coups les plus considerables."

Translation.

Translation.

*Extract of Mr. Barillon's letter to Louis the XIVth.—
Names and characters of individuals of the popular
party who act in a secret correspondence with France.*

Sire,

December 14, 1679.

“ **C**ONFORMABLE to the orders your Majesty has given me, I have re-entered into a correspondence with the persons in parliament who I thought might be useful to your service hereafter. I had always kept measures with them to make use of them in time of need. I shall at present give your Majesty the detail, as you order by your last dispatch.

I have at all times taken great care to manage Lord Hollis, and I believe I have kept him in very favourable sentiments for your Majesty's interests. He is the man of all England for whom the different cabals have the most consideration. He is respected in general by all parties, but principally by the Presbyterians. Nothing did me so much service with him as the offer I made him on your Majesty's part of a box with your picture set with diamonds. He made great acknowledgments for this mark of your Majesty's esteem; but he has not accepted the present, and I have it still. I have pressed him many times to take it; he has always excused himself, and told me that he should serve your Majesty with less scruple and more usefully if he did not accept it, and that he could not resolve to take it without the permission of the King of Great Britain; being at present of his council. I opposed with very good reasons the proposal he made to me of telling his Britannick Majesty that your Majesty would make him a present, under the very improbable pretence of his not having received one at the expiration of his embassy to France. In the mean time I can assure your Majesty; that in the affair of the high Treasurer and the disband-
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ing of the army, no person was more useful to your Majesty than Lord Hollis.

Although he does not often go to parliament, he is consulted by many people, and his advice has great weight. He is very moderate upon the subject of the Duke of York; and declares he cannot consent to his exclusion; but, at the same time, he is of opinion that the power of a Catholick King should be limited. He is apprehensive the court will always adhere to the design of governing more absolutely than the laws of England admit; and he knows that your Majesty alone can facilitate the success of such a design. Upon this account he wishes that the nation may not be stirred up against France; and believes it would be a great imprudence to give any cause of discontent to a Prince so powerful, and who can so easily hurt them. I sometimes see Lord Hollis, but, not to give suspicion by too frequent visits, we have correspondence together by the Sieur Beber; he is a man who has great credit with Lord Hollis, and who is greatly considered amongst the Presbyterians; he has been very useful to me on several occasions, and it is through him I have been informed in time of what passes in the different cabals. I have had, through the same person, a strict connexion with M. Lyttelton, who is one of the most considerable in the house of commons, and whose opinions have been the most followed. I have also kept a particular correspondence with Mr. Powle. He was put into the council when the persons who opposed the court were put there. He has so conducted himself since that time, that he will always be useful when the parliament shall meet; he is a man fit to fill one of the first posts in England; he is very eloquent and very able; our first correspondence came through Mr. Montagu's means; but I have since kept it by my own, and very secretly.

Mr. Harbord is another of those whom I make use of, and who bore an active part in the affair of the Treasurer and the disbanding the troops; but it would be difficult to employ him at present. He has considerable

derable credit amongst people in the country; he would be more fit if a minister was to be attacked, than he will be to speak in parliament against an alliance which the court would make, and the other party hinder.

These four have touched what was promised them; when the disbanding the troops should be finished; and the high Treasurer removed from affairs:

I send a memorial apart, by which your Majesty will see what has been given for this; and some other expences laid out by your order.

Mr. Sidney has been of great use to me on many occasions. He is a man who was in the first wars, and who is naturally an enemy to the court. He has for some time been suspected of being gained by Lord Sunderland; but he always appeared to me to have the same sentiments, and not to have changed maxims. He has a great deal of credit amongst the independants, and is also intimate with those who are the most opposite to the court in parliament. He was elected for this present one *. I gave him only what your Majesty permitted me. He would willingly have had more, and if a new gratification was given him, it would be easy to engage him entirely. However he is very favorably disposed to what your Majesty may desire; and is not willing that England and the States General should make a league. He is upon bad terms with his brother, who is in Holland, and laughs at the court's making use of him as a negociator. I believe he is a man who would be very useful if the affairs of England should be brought to extremities:

Since the time that an alliance has been spoken of between the States General and England, I have taken a great deal of care to nourish the diffidence which some of the most considerable persons in parliament have of the Prince of Orange; they are apprehensive that his union with the court will render the government more firm, and give it more authority: but to say the truth, as it appears to me, I do not believe it would be pos-

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* Mr. Sidney's election was found not to be good.

sible to prevent the parliament from approving a league made with the States General to guarantee the peace. All that could be done afterwards (if it should happen) would be to hinder the parliament from giving considerable sums ; I therefore do not think I ought to propose to your Majesty the making any new expence at present, the success of which might be very doubtful. It will be always time enough to give and promise new rewards to those whose services may be wished for, when it is seen if the parliament is to be assembled.

If your Majesty thinks I ought again to press Lord Hollis to accept the box of diamonds, I may by means of Lady Hollis make him accept it ; I don't presume she will be so difficult as he has been. I shall also wait your Majesty's orders for offering any thing to the others of whom I have made mention, but shall not make use of the permission you may give unless on occasions which I shall think essential to your service.

I ought to give your Majesty an account of what regards Mr. Montagu separate from the others, being engaged as he is in your Majesty's interests by particular considerations. I have had trouble enough to defend myself for these six months against his solicitations for the payment of the sum which was promised him for the ruin of the high Treasurer. He alledges that the condition is fulfilled on his part. I have always endeavoured to make him understand that it was an affair not entirely finished, and that being fully assured of what had been promised to him, he ought not to make himself uneasy whether the payment be made a little sooner or later. He does not give way to my reasons. The two journeys which the Sieur Falaiseau has made to no purpose, would have made him resolve to go himself to solicit the payment of the sum he pretends a right to, if he could have left England at a time when affairs are in so great commotion, and in which he has acted so great a part. Your Majesty will remember, if you please, that Mr. Montagu spoke to me in the month of January last, to try if you would favour the Duke
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of Monmouth's pretensions : it was the principal motive of his journey to France when he was seized at Dover. Mr. Montagu knew well afterwards by the reservedness with which I spoke to him upon that affair, that your Majesty was not disposed to support so unjust a design, and which then appeared very chimerical. However upon other affairs we have always had a good correspondence, and have preserved the greatest union. He has often spoken to me of getting Lord Shaftesbury into your Majesty's interests; and alledges that it would not be impossible if a considerable sum were employed. I don't know if your Majesty will judge it useful to your service to endeavour at it at present; it would be a very proper means to stir up new embarrassments to the King of England; and Lord Shaftesbury would be still more bold, if he found himself secretly supported by your Majesty : but it will be difficult to turn him from his engagements against the Duke of York, and to prevent his bestirring himself for the elevation of the Duke of Monmouth, or for that of the Prince of Orange; for his designs are difficult to penetrate : And perhaps his principal end is to endeavour the establishment of a Republick, of which he would aim at being chief.

If your Majesty will give me leave to say what I think ought to be done at present with regard to Mr. Montagu, I think you might command me to give him positive assurances of the payment of what was promised him, and that a certain time be named on which this payment shall be actually made : if after this your Majesty will, by this means and those of Mrs. Hervey his sister, gain any members of parliament; I can answer that two persons cannot be found more proper to traverse all the designs of the court. It was by an intrigue of Mrs. Hervey that I caused to be continued at Brussels a certain person named Bullstrode, who, as Monsr. de Louvois at that time informed me, was useful to your Majesty's service. It has been my principal application with those whom I have at present mentioned, to take away from them the least suspicion that your Ma-

jeſty will enter into a treaty with the King of England. I have, however, taken care not to uſe poſitive words upon this, eſpecially to my Lord Hollis; I have only told him in general that your Maſteſty will never enter into any engagement with his Britannick Maſteſty which might be prejudicial to the liberties and privileges of the Engliſh.

I will ſay nothing to your Maſteſty upon the ſubject of the Duke of Buckingham, becauſe he is not here at preſent, and your Maſteſty knows of yourſelf of what uſe he may be to your ſervice. I don't doubt but he is diſſatisfied with the reſuſal I gave him this ſummer of the twenty thouſand crowns, which he wanted the power of diſpoſing of; I would rather let him think that I made this ſaving of myſelf, than let him know that I did it by order. As I ſaw he had a deſign of going to France, and doubt not he has been there, I imagine, when he appears here, I ſhall find him diſpoſed to ſerve your Maſteſty when occaſions ſhall preſent. It does not appear to me he has great credit in parliament, but he may be uſeful with regard to the populace, and in times of troubles. It is not the moſt regular minds which always ſtrike the moſt conſiderable ſtrokes."

As there was no parliament, and no traffick for money between Louis and Charles, in the ſummer of the year 1680, Barillon's diſpatches are not very intereſting during that period; yet it appears from them that the Dutcheſs of Portſmouth and Lord Sunderland had quitted the intereſt of the Duke, and were anxious to bring about a reconciliation between the parliament and the King; that the Duke was extremely averſe from this, and thought a civil war the preferable way of extricating the King from the difficulties he was under.

In the Depot.

Barillon writes thus to Louis the XIVth, on the 19th Auguſt, 1680. "Le deſſein de Monſ. le Duc d'York ſeroit que les affaires ſe portaffent à l'extremité,
et

et qu'on en vint à une rupture ouverte. Il est persuadé que l'autorité royale ne se peut rétablir en Angleterre que par une guerre civile. Il croiroit prévenir par là le peril dont il est menacé."——“ The Duke of York's design is that things should be brought to extremities, and come to an open rupture. He is persuaded that the royal authority can be established in England only by a civil war. By this he thinks to prevent the danger with which he is threatened.”

Charles, however, chose a less dangerous experiment, and to get supplies at home, since he got them no longer from France, assembled his parliament on the 21st of October, 1680.

Before it met he was under an extreme embarrassment whether to send his brother again into Scotland. The following dispatch gives an account of this, as well as of the suspicions which the Duke of York entertained of his brother's advisers.

*Extrait d'une depeche de Mr. de Barillon au Roi,
28 Octobre, 1680.*

“ **M**R. le Duc d'York m'envoya chercher il y a deux jours par Mr. Churchil : il me dit In the Depos. que je voyois les affaires dans une grand agitation ; qu'il ne désespéroit pas tant de pouvoir de se sauver, et que le Roi son frere n'est pas encore entierement déterminé à abandonner à son parlement ; que les avis avoient été presque partagés au conseil, que sa resolution a lui étoit d'attendre ce que le parlement feroit ; qu'il ne croioit pas que le Roi son frere voulût le livrer à ses ennemis, et qu'il auroit toujours le tems de se retirer ; que milord Sunderland et madame de Portsmouth étoient embarrassés de ce que leur avis n'avoit pas été suivi, et que l'on reconnoitroit peut-être que son départ feroit inutile.

Ce Prince me dit ensuite qu'il connoissoit présentement comment il avoit été trahi. Que Mr. Temple, milord Sonderland, et Mr. Henri Sidney avoient concerté avec Mr. le Prince d'Orange le traité avec l'Es-

pagne, et de conduire ensuite les affaires au point où elles sont. Que Mr. Vanleuve venoit pour essayer de faire que Mr. le Prince d'Orange profitât de sa ruine ; et qu'il avoit été trompé par tous ceux en qui il devoit plus se fier ; que je ne le devois pas croire assez malhabile pour ne s'être pas apperçu depuis quelque tems d'une partie de ce qu'il voit presentement, mais qu'il n'étoit pas en son pouvoir de l'empêcher, et qu'il ne vouloit pas donner à ceux qui l'ont trompé une prétexte de se plaindre par la défiance qu'il leur auroit témoignée ; qu'on auroit essayé de le rassurer par toutes sortes de sermens ; qu'il s'étoit encore rassuré sur l'expérience du passé, qui avoit de faire connoître au Roi son frere, et à ceux qui ont sa principale confiance, combien il avoit été inutile au Comte de Dambi de le faire sortir du royaume, et le peu de gré que le parlement lui en avoit scu. Qu'il me prioit de faire connoître à votre Majesté ce qui se passe, et de lui représenter que sa seule protection peut garantir le Roy de la Grande Bretagne d'une ruine entière. Que ceux qui sont auprès de lui le veulent livrer au parlement pour se sauver, et que le gouvernement sera entièrement changé dès que le parlement sera venu à bout de le faire sortir et de l'exclure. Il ajouta que Mons. Heyde avoit parlé au Roi de la Grande Bretagne avec beaucoup de fermeté et de vigueur, pour le faire connoître qu'il ne pouvoit abandonner son frere sans se perdre ; que cela l'avoit embarrassé ; que d'autres gens du conseil avoient encore parlé à sa Majesté Britannique, et qu'il ne desespéroit pas qu'on ne put lui faire connoître combien les conseils qu'on lui donne sont dangereux ; qu'avec cela il ne seroit point surpris si le Roy son frere le faisoit partir dans deux jours."

Translation.

Extract of a dispatch from Mr. Barillon to Louis the XIVth, October 28, 1680.—The Duke uncertain if he is to be sent to Scotland.—His suspicion of his brother's advisers.—The Duke begs the support of France.

“**T**HE Duke of York sent for me two days ago by Mr. Churchill; he said, that I saw matters in a great agitation; that he did not despair of being able to save himself, and that the King his brother is not yet entirely determined to abandon him to his parliament; that the opinions of the council had been almost equally divided, and the resolution of it as to him was to wait to see what parliament would do; that he did not believe that the King his brother would deliver him to his enemies, and that he should always have time to retire; that Lord Sunderland and Lady Portsmouth were embarrassed from their opinion, not having been followed, and perhaps they might yet acknowledge that his departure would be unnecessary.

This Prince then told me that he knew not how he had been betrayed. That Mr. Temple, Lord Sunderland, and Mr. Henry Sidney had concerted with the Prince of Orange the treaty with Spain, and afterwards to bring affairs to the point they are at. That Mr. Vanleuve was come to try to make the Prince of Orange a gainer by his ruin; and that he had been cheated by all those in whom he had the most reason to have confided; that I should not think him so weak as not to have seen for some time past a part of what he sees at present, but it was not in his power to hinder it; and that he was unwilling to give those who had deceived him a pretence to complain of the diffidence he might have shewn of them; that they would have tried to make him easy again by all sorts of oaths; that he still comforted himself upon the experience of the past, which ought to

make his brother know, and those who have his principal confidence, how unserviceable to the Earl of Danby it had been, to make him (the Duke) go out of the kingdom, and what small thanks the parliament had given him for it; that he begged me to let your Majesty know what is passing; and to represent that your protection alone can save the King of Great Britain from utter ruin; that those who are about him will give him up to parliament to save themselves; and that the government will be entirely changed as soon as the parliament shall obtain his (the Duke's) banishment and exclusion. He added, that Mr. Hyde had spoken to the King of Great Britain with much firmness and vigour, to convince him that he could not abandon his brother without being ruined himself: that this had embarrassed him; that others of the council had again spoken to his Britannick Majesty, and he did not despair but they might make him sensible how dangerous are the councils that are given him; that notwithstanding all this he should not be surpris'd if the King his brother made him depart in two days."

The Duke of York judg'd right in his suspicions of his brother's steadiness, express'd in the end of this last letter; a few days after he received an order for retiring to Scotland; but this created a new embarrassment to Charles, for the Duke fearing a personal attack from parliament in his absence, insist'd, before he went, to have a pardon for his protection.

The following is a note in Lord Anglesea's handwriting of the debates in council upon that subject.

Earl of Anglesea (Lord Privy Seal) his minutes at the council, Oct. 15, 1680.

Among the Clarendon papers, but not published. **A**T the council, October 15, 1680, till late at night: Never any yet condemn'd for reconciling to the church of Rome; shall your brother be the first?

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The Duke's flight takes away possibility of baile ; the Tower then followes when he is caught ; the Lords power of bail is lost, which yet is left to the judges of the King's bench.

The parliament, which knew all that is yet known, instead of accusing him gave him priviledge above all other subjects : It seems the accusation against him dyed then with your Majesty and them ; will your Majesty now revive it alone, upon the noise of a clandestine practice, before the parliament sits to accuse him ?

And all this after your Majesty declares your resolution to stick to the church.

If they impeach or bring an attainder, is your Majesty to be advised to dissolve ? then its better after a pardon, if they accuse, to dissolve, for this is in maintenance of the prerogative ; the other is in maintenance of popery.

If there is not one Lord that would advise execution, which is the end of the law, how can any one advise what leads thereunto ?

Tell the parliament you have pardoned him, yet dislike his religion so much that you have forbid him, and you will not have him come near your councils,

Those that presse his removal, which will draw on his impeachment, yet would not have him suffer.

Lord Essex observed : Good counsel to pardon, if we were the Duke's counsellors, but we are your Majesty's.

The act of the test hath led you to a pardon.

No honest man believes your Majesty a Papist ; for he that believes it and dares not say so is a knave.

Not to give a pardon is to necessitate a dissolution ; take courage, for without rebellion you are safe from the suspicion of popery.

If not execute, but dissolve, rather why not pardon. I saw the K. (i. e. King) was turned against his B. (i. e. brother) but I and most of the council did our duties."

The

In the *Depts.*

The King having refused a pardon to the Duke, he became desperate. Barillon had written his court on the 24th October, 1680, that the Duke refused to go to Scotland, that the two Secretaries of State and Lord Halifax and Lord Essex had intreated him in vain, and that the King was under great perplexity, because it was against law to compel the Duke to leave the kingdom without his consent.

Among other schemes of revenge, the Duke of York about this time told Barillon, that he would defend himself by a civil war from Scotland and Ireland. An account of this, and of the state of parties in England, is to be found in the following dispatch.

*Extrait d'une Depeche de Mr. Barillon au Roi, 31
Octobre, 1680.*

In the *Depts.*

“ **M**R. le Duc et Madame la Duchesse d'York s'embarquerent hier matin dans la riviere pour aller en Ecosse. Le Roy de la Grand Bretagne les alla conduire jusques au Lich. J'ai eu un long entretien avec M. le Duc d'York dans lequel ce Prince m'a laissé voir de grandes marques de douleur ; il se croit entierement abandonné, et ne compte pas d'être longtems en Ecosse. Le Roi son frere leur a pourtant donné de belles paroles, et lui a dit que la seule nécessité l'obligeoit à l'éloigner ; qu'il lui auroit été impossible de le soutenir contre les efforts de la chambre basse, et qu'il étoit bien plus à propos de casser le parlement sur quelqu' autre sujet, comme sur celui des évêques, que sur l'accusation qui se poursuivroit contre lui ; qu'il n'auroit pas été en son pouvoir de l'empêcher d'aller à la Tour ; qu'il lui promettoit cependant de ne le jamais abandonner, et qu'il en connoit les conséquences.

Mr. le Duc d'York croit que M. le Prince d'Orange viendra bientôt icy, dans le dessein de profiter de ce qui se fera contre lui.

Je

Je ne repeterai pas à votre Majesté tout ce que Mr. le Duc d'York m'a dit sur le passé : il est entré dans les détails des premiers traités qui ont été faits entre votre Majesté et le Roy son frere ; et se plaignit en termes fort véhémens du traitement qu'il recoit pour une affaire dans laquelle il n'a fait qu' obeir, et se conformer aux volontés du Roy de la Grande Bretagne.

Il me fit entendre que quelques uns des Seigneurs qui sont prisonniers à la Tour avoient été dans le secret de tout ce qui avoit été projeté, et qu'il ne comprenoit pas que le Roi son frere voulût mettre tous les Catholiques au desespoir, et les persecuter sans aucunes mesures. Il ajouta à cela en termes pleins de colere et de ressentiment, qui si on le pouffoit à bout, et qu'il se voye en état d'être entierement ruiné par ses ennemies, il trouvera les moyens de les en faire repentir, et se vengera d'eux en vangeant aussi votre Majesté de la conduite qu'on a tenue icy à son égard ; cela veut dire qu'il espere pouvoir exciter des troubles en Ecosse et en Irlande, et qu'il pretend même avoir un parti en Angleterre plus considérable qu'on ne se l'imagine. Il finit son discours par de grandes protestations d'être éternellement attaché à votre Majesté, et par une très humble priere de lui accorder sa protection.

Je répondis à tout cela dans les termes qui me parurent les plus convenables à l'état au quel ce Prince est réduit, sans entrer en rien de particulier.

Si M. le Duc d'York demeure en Ecosse, il prétend pouvoir réunir les factions qui divisent ce royaume, et se mettre en état de n'y être pas opprimé : il ne paroît pas qu'on ait aucune intention icy de lui en donner le loisir, et je ne doute pas qu'on ne l'en fasse sortir aussitôt que le parlement l'aura demandé à sa Majesté Britannique. Tout cela me paroît déjà concerté, et il est fort vraisemblable que milord Sunderland et Madame de Portsmouth sont d'accord avec M. le Duc de Monmouth et avec milord Shafberi. Il n'y a aucun doute que M. le Duc de Monmouth n'ait vû le Roi de la Grande Bretagne, et qu'il n'y ait entre eux un raccommodement

ment secret. Je ne vois personne qui ne soit persuadé que M. le Duc de Monmouth rentrera bientôt dans toutes ses charges : on parle de lui faire avoir celle de grand maître de la maison qu'a le Duc d'Ormond. Il est assez difficile de comprendre comment l'intérêt de M. le Prince d'Orange et celui de Mr. le Duc de Monmouth peuvent s'accorder. Mr. de Montaignu dit, que M. le Duc de Monmouth ne témoigne point présentement d'avoir d'autre dessein que celui de procurer le bien et l'avantage de tout la nation par l'exclusion de Mr. le Duc d'York, mais que dans le fonds il suivra sa pointe, et hazardera tout plutôt que de se soumettre volontairement à M. le Prince d'Orange. Il prétend avancer ses affaires et réussir plus aisément, étant rentré à la cour, par le moyen du parlement, et se tenant toujours uni avec ceux qui ont le plus de crédit parmi le peuple.

Les ministres paroissent fort portés pour M. le Prince d'Orange ; mais on croit qu'ils se réservent la liberté de l'abandonner s'ils rencontrent trop de difficultés à faire réussir ses prétentions, et que le Roy de la Grande Bretagne fera généralement tout ce qu'il faudra pour plaire au parlement. J'ai scû que ce Prince avoit dit en secret à une personne confidente, qu'il étoit assuré que M. le Prince d'Orange l'assisteroit d'hommes et d'argent si les affaires se poussent icy à l'extrémité, et qu'elles en viennent au point d'être décidées par la force. Je n'ai pas manqué de faire savoir tout cela à des gens qui en feront un bon usage.

J'observe cependant exactement la conduite que votre Majesté m'a prescrite : je me suis tenu fort réservé avec M. de Montaignu sur le sujet de M. le Duc de Monmouth : j'ai essayé de lui faire comprendre que l'intérêt de votre Majesté se renfermoit à empêcher que le parlement ne donnât de l'argent au Roi de la Grande Bretagne de quoi soutenir les alliances, mais que votre Majesté ne pouvoit entrer dans d'autres affaires entièrement séparées de ce qui s'agite présentement ; que je voyois votre Majesté fort éloignée de favoriser le parti du

Prince

Prince d'Orange, et qu'elle jugeoit même fort important pour son service d'empêcher qu'il ne s'établît sur la ruine de Duc d'York ; qu'en cela il me paroïssoit que M. le Duc de Monmouth trouvoit une grand avantage parcequ'il auroit le même ennemi que la France, tant que Mr. le Prince d'Orange tiendrait la conduite qu'il a tenue depuis quelques années, et que vraisemblément il n'a pas dessein de changer.

J'ai crû, Sire que je devois parler en ce sens à M. Montaigu pour empêcher que M. le Duc de Monmouth ne perde entierement l'espérance d'avoir la protection de votre Majesté, et que cela ne facilite son raccommodement avec le Prince d'Orange.

J'envoye à votre Majesté un memoire de la dépense que j'ai faite, jusques à présent ; les affaires sont trop mêlées ; et les interêts trop opposés et trop difficiles pour pouvoir prendre des mesures entierement sures ; ainsi j'ai crû ne devoir pas employer des sommes considérables, avant que je puisse voir (par ce qui se passera dans les premieres séances du parlement) quel chemin les affaires prendront. Tout ce que j'apprends de divers endroits me fait juger, que le Roi de la Grande Bretagne a résolu de faire ce que le parlement voudra ; mais ce Prince pourra bien encore changer de resolution, car assurément on lui demandera des choses qui anéantiront entierement l'autorité royale. Il y en a une que je scai qui est agitée dans les cabales, c'est de demander un parlement tous les ans, et qu'il puisse être assis pendant un tems assez considerable pour regler les affaires qui regarderont l'interêt de la nation : si cela étoit établi, la forme du gouvernement seroit entierement changée ; car quand le parlement ne seroit pas assemblé, il gouverneroit par le moyen d'un conseil qui ne feroit rien que ce qu'il croiroit devoir être approuvé du parlement dans la suite.

Je vis hier au soir M. de Montaigu, il ne me cacha point que M. le Duc de Monmouth étoit raccommodé avec Madame de Portsmouth et milord Sonderland, et qu'il se faisoit diverses propositions pour l'avenir, et qu'il

qu'il y auroit de grands changemens à la cour. Si cela est comme je n'en doute pas ; M. le Duc d'York fera entierement abandonné et exclu. On m'a dit aujourd'hui qu'il ne demeurera pas à Edinbourg ; mais dans une maison de campagne de Duc de Rothez. Il est aisé de voir que c'est une preparation pour ne le pas laisser en Ecoffe.

J'ai scu qu'au sortir d'un conseil, dans le quel il y eut onze voix à ne point faire sortir le Duc d'York contre sept qui en étoient d'avis, le Roi de la Grande Bretagne dit ; " il faut qu'il sorte puisqu'il a tant de gens pour lui."

Le Sieur Seymer, ancien Speker, dit dans le même conseil, que ceux qui opinoient si facilement à la sortie de M. le Duc d'York opineroient une autre fois avec la même facilité pour faire sortir le Roi de la Grande Bretagne, si le peuple le vouloit. Mr. Godolfin repliqua à cela, et dit ; " si le Duc ne sort pas présentement, il faudra qu'il sorte dans quinze jours, et le Roi avec lui." La vérité est, que le dedans de la cour, c'est à dire, ceux qui ont la confiance de sa Majesté Britannique, parurent plus ardens pour faire sortir M. le Duc d'York que les plus emportés du parlement. Tout cela fait croire que le Roi de la Grande Bretagne ne veut pas le soutenir, mais profiter, de son abandonnement, s'il est possible."

Translation.

Extract of a dispatch from Mr. Barillon to Louis the XIVth, Oct. 31, 1680. — State of the court. — The Dutchess of Portsmouth and Lord Sunderland have given up the Duke of York. — The Duke's desperate schemes of revenge.

" **T**HE Duke and Dutchess of York embarked yesterday morning in the river for Scotland. The King of Great Britain conducted them to Leigh. I had a long conversation with the Duke of York, in which

which that Prince shewed great marks of misery ; he thinks himself entirely abandoned, and does not reckon upon being long in Scotland. The King his brother however gave them fine words, and told him that necessity alone obliged him to send him away : that it would have been impossible for him to support him against the efforts of the lower house, and that it was much more proper to dissolve the parliament upon any other account (as that of the bishops) than upon an accusation which might have been prosecuted against him ; that it would not have been in his power to have prevented his going to the tower ; that he promised him however never to abandon him, and that he knows the consequences.

The Duke of York believes that the Prince of Orange will come here soon, with a design to draw advantage from what may be done against him the Duke.

I will not repeat to your Majesty all the Duke of York said about things past : he entered into a detail of the first treaties which were made between your Majesty and the King his brother ; and complained in very vehement terms of the treatment he receives for an affair in which he had only obeyed and conformed himself to the will of the King of Great Britain.

He informed me that some of the lords who are prisoners in the Tower had been in the secret of all that had been projected, and that he did not understand how the King his brother could chuse to drive all the Catholics to despair, and prosecute them without measure. To this he added, in terms full of rage, that if he was pushed to extremity, and saw himself like to be entirely ruined by his enemies, he would find means to make them repent it, and revenge himself of them by giving your Majesty also your revenge for the conduct they had held here with regard to you ; the meaning of which is, that he hopes to be able to excite troubles in Scotland and Ireland, and he even alledges he has a party in England more considerable than is thought of.

He

He finished his discourse with great protestations of being eternally attached to your Majesty, and by a very humble prayer to grant him your protection.

To all this I answered in terms which appeared to me the most suitable to the condition this Prince is reduced to, without entering into any thing particular.

If the Duke of York remains in Scotland, he alledges he may be able to re-unite the factions which divide that country, and to put himself in a condition not to be oppressed there : it does not appear that they have any intention here to give him leisure to do it ; and I do not doubt but they will oblige him to quit it as soon as the parliament demands it of his Britannick Majesty. All this appears to me to be already concerted ; and it is very probable that lord Sunderland and lady Portsmouth are agreed with the duke of Monmouth and lord Shaftesbury. There is no doubt but the duke of Monmouth has seen the King of Great Britain, and that there is a secret reconciliation between them. I don't see a person who is not persuaded that the duke of Monmouth will soon be replaced in all his employments : they talk of giving him the office of Lord Steward of the Household, which the duke of Ormond has. It is difficult to comprehend how the interest of the Prince of Orange and that of the Duke of Monmouth can agree. Mr. Montagu says, the Duke of Monmouth at present shews no other design than that of procuring the good and advantage of all the nation by the Duke of York's exclusion ; but at the bottom that he will pursue his point, and hazard all rather than submit willingly to the Prince of Orange. He alledges, that when he is once re-established at court, he will advance his affairs, and succeed more easily by the means of parliament, and by keeping himself always united with those who have the greatest credit among the people.

The ministers appear much inclined to the Prince of Orange ; but it is believed they reserve to themselves the liberty of abandoning him if they meet with too many

many difficulties in making his pretensions succeed ; and that the King of Great Britain will in general do what he can to please his parliament. I know that this Prince said privately to a confidant, that he was assured the Prince of Orange would assist him with men and money if affairs here were pushed to extremities, and came to the point of being decided by force. I have not failed to make all this known to persons who will make a good use of it.

I observe exactly, however, the conduct your Majesty has prescribed to me. I keep myself very reserved with Mr. Montague upon the subject of the Duke of Monmouth : I have endeavoured to make him understand that your Majesty's interest is confined to preventing the parliament from granting money to the King of Great Britain wherewith to support his alliances, but that your Majesty could not enter into other affairs entirely separate from what is at present in agitation ; that I perceived your Majesty was far from favouring the Prince of Orange's party, and that you even judged it very important for your service to prevent him from establishing himself upon the Duke of York's ruin : that in this it appeared to me the Duke of Monmouth would find a great advantage, because he would have the same enemy with France as long as the Prince of Orange kept the same conduct he had done for some years, and which in all appearance he has no design to change.

I thought, Sire, I ought to speak in this manner to Mr. Montague to prevent the Duke of Monmouth from losing altogether the hopes of having your Majesty's protection ; for this would facilitate his reconciliation with the Prince of Orange.

I send your Majesty a memorial of the expence I have laid out till this time. Affairs are too confused, and the interests too opposite and too difficult for me to be able to take any measures that are certain. I have therefore thought it my duty not to employ considerable sums, till I can see (by what shall be done during the

first day of the session of parliament) the turn which affairs will take. By all that I can learn from different places, I judge that the King of Great Britain has resolved to do whatever the parliament shall incline; but he may yet change his resolution; for they will assuredly ask things of him which will intirely annihilate the royal authority. There is one I know is agitated in the cabals, which is to demand an annual parliament, and that it shall sit a sufficient time to regulate those affairs which regard the interest of the nation: if this were established, the form of the government would be entirely changed; for though the parliament should not be sitting, they would still govern by means of a council *, which would do nothing but what they believed would be afterwards approved of by parliament.

Yesterday evening I saw Mr. Montaguë; he did not conceal from me that the Duke of Monmouth was reconciled with Lady Portsmouth and Lord Sunderland, and that various proposals were making for the future, and that there would be great changes at court. If it be so, as I do not doubt it is, the Duke of York will be entirely abandoned and excluded. I was told to-day that he will not continue at Edinburgh, but in a country house of the Duke of Rothes. It is easy to see this is a preparation for his not continuing in Scotland.

I know that at the breaking up of a council in which there were eleven voices for the Duke of York's not leaving the kingdom against seven who were for it, the King of Great Britain said, "he must leave it then; since there are so many people for him."

Mr. Seymour, formerly Speaker, said in the same council, that those who so readily gave their opinions for the Duke of York's going away, would as readily vote another time for the King to quit the kingdom, if the people would have it so. Mr. Godolphin replied to this; "If the Duke of York does not leave it at present, he will be obliged to go in a fortnight; and

* Perhaps he means committee.

the King along with him." The truth is, the interior of the court, that is to say, those who have his Britannick Majesty's confidence, appear more keen for the Duke of York's leaving the kingdom than the most violent of the parliament. All this makes it believed that the King of Great Britain has not a mind to support him, but to get some advantage to himself, if possible, by abandoning him."

The intelligence of the Duke of York's project for a civil war, was received by Louis the XIVth, as might have been expected : He instantly gave Barillon orders to encourage the Duke in it.

On the 8th November, 1680, Louis the XIVth *In the Depot.* writes thus to Barillon : " Si vous le (i. e. the Duke) voyez resolu à tacher de se maintenir par le moyen de l'Ecosse et d'Irlande, vous pourriés lui temoigner que je ne lui refuserai pas en ce cas des secours secrets."—" If you see him resolved to support himself by means of Scotland and Ireland, you may assure him that in that event I will not refuse him secret supplies."

On the 15th November, Louis the XIVth writes to *In the Depot.* Barillon thus. " Mais bien pour encourager ce Prince, et pour lui faire voir que s'il se sent asses des amis et asses des forces pour ce maintenir dans le lieu ou il est, malgre tous les efforts que ses ennemis feront pour l'en chasser, je ne lui refuseray pas dans ce cas là les assistances secretes, ni la protection que mon inclination me porte à donner a la justice de sa cause."—" But to encourage this Prince, and to make him see that if he finds he has friends enough and forces enough to maintain himself in the place where he is, against all the efforts which his enemies may make to drive him from it, I will not refuse in that case secret aids, nor the protection which my inclination leads me to give to the justice of his cause."

And Barillon's letter, of 30th December, 1680, to his court, mentions Louis's having sent a trusty messenger to Scotland with an assurance of his services to the Duke of York. Colonel Churchill, as will be seen in a dispatch below, was the person whose cautious temper prevented these sallies of the Duke from being attended with consequences; for he informed Barillon that the Duke was not able to make a stand for himself in Scotland.

The Duke of York was the more irritated at this time, because his brother had renewed his application to him to conform to the church of England. Barillon writes thus to his court, on the 14th October, 1680

In the Depot.

“ J'ai sceu d'un bon endroit que le Roi d'Angleterre presse toujours fortement Mons. le Duc d'York de prendre les serments de Protestants, et qu'il lui a declare que c'étoit le seul moyen de le faire demeurer en Angleterre, et de le garantir d'une ruine entiere.” — “ I know it from a good quarter that the King of England presses the Duke of York strongly to take the Protestant testis, and that he has declared to him it is the only means of bringing about his continuance in England, and preventing his utter ruin.”

This is confirmed by the following note of Lord Dartmouth upon bishop Burnet's history.

One of Lord Dartmouth's notes upon Bishop Burnet's history.

P. 517. “ I have a letter of the Duke's in which are these words: What you hint to me in your letter, and what Lord Hallifax in his has more plainly said, and has been prest by Lord Hyde concerning my going to church, has mortified me very much, since I cannot do it; for indeed I see nothing but ruin, when such measures

measures are taken as produce such a message to me, when there was no reason to believe I would comply."

While Louis was endeavouring to raise commotions, by means of the Duke of York, in Scotland and Ireland, he was making preparations to sow divisions between the King and his subjects in England. Dreading the session of a new parliament, he gave orders to Barillon, before it met, to tempt the King with a money treaty, on the one hand, and to intrigue with the popular party on the other.

The same letter of Louis the XIVth, to wit, that In the *Depot.* of 15th November, 1680, which ordered Barillon to encourage the Duke of York to make a stand in Scotland, ordered him to assure the republican party in parliament, that he would protect the privileges of the nation.

On the 23d November, 1680, Louis writes Barillon, In the *Depot.* to encourage Charles to follow a firm and bold conduct to his subjects in his present situation.

On the 13th December, 1680, Louis's letter to Barillon expresses his satisfaction at the divisions in England, and orders him to assure the republican party that it is not his intention to suffer their liberties to be hurt. In the *Depot.*

The two following dispatches show, in a strong light, the distracted state of the kingdom, and that versatility of politicks by which Louis the XIVth accommodating his conduct to the variation of circumstances, played at that time the King and parliament against each other, deceiving both separately, while he pretended to be a friend to both separately.

Extrait d'une depeche de Mr. Barillon au Roi, 4 Novembre, 1680.

“ JE recus avant hier la depêche de votre Majesté du 29 Octobre, qui m'a été apportée par un courrier exprés : elle m'instruit pleinement de ce que j'aurois à faire, si le Roi de la Grande Bretagne prenoit la résolution d'avoir recours a votre Majesté, qui est le seul bon parti qui lui reste : cela peut arriver tous les jours. Mais il ne paroît pourtant pas que ce Prince connoisse encore le peril ou il est dans toute son étendue, et qu'il se mette en devoir de s'en tirer : au contraire tout ce qui ce passe fait juger que son intention est de contenter le parlement, à quelque prix que ce soit, et d'essayer s'il peut par cette voye de se mettre en repos, et retablir ses affaires ; mais Sonderland et madame de Portsmouth ont promis à M. le Duc de Montmouth, à milord Schafbery, et à milord Rouffel, que le Roi de la Grande Bretagne accordera tout ce que le parlement demandera, pourvu qu'on le mette en état de subsister.

J'ai su qu'il y a une condition secrette dont on est convenu, et qui fait le fondement de toute la conduite présente des deux partis ; c'est, que le parlement donnera pouvoir au Roi de la Grande Bretagne de nommer son successeur tel qu'il lui plaira, à l'exemple de ce qui a été pratiqué du tems de Henri huit. M. le Duc de Montmouth se flatte d'être nommé ; je ne doute pas que madame de Portsmouth et milord Sonderland ne lui aient donné des esperances. Madame de Portsmouth a des prétentions aussi pour son fils. Ce que je mande à votre Majesté lui paroitra sans doute fort extraordinaire, mais l'Angleterre ne ressemble point aux autres pays.”

Translation.

Translation.

Extract of a dispatch from Mr. Barillon to Louis the XIVth, 4th November, 1680.—Has got orders how to act if the King makes advances to France.—Dispositions of England.

“THE day before yesterday I received your Majesty’s dispatch of the 29th October, which was brought me by an express messenger: It instructs me fully in what I have to do, if the King of Great Britain takes the resolution of having recourse to your Majesty, which is the only good step that remains for him: this may happen every day. It does not however appear that this Prince is sensible as yet of the danger he is in in all its extent, and how much he ought to endeavour to get out of it; on the contrary, all that passes makes one judge that his intention is to satisfy his parliament at whatever price it may be, and to try if he can by this means obtain some ease, and re-establish his affairs; but Sunderland and Lady Portsmouth have promised the Duke of Monmouth, Lord Shaftesbury, and Lord Russel, that the King of Great Britain shall grant all that the parliament will ask, provided they put him in a condition of subsisting.

I know that there is a secret condition agreed on, and which makes the foundation of all the present conduct of both parties; to wit, that the parliament shall give the King of Great Britain power to name for his successor whom he pleases, as was practised in the time of Henry the eighth. The Duke of Monmouth flatters himself with being named; I don’t doubt but Lady Portsmouth and Lord Sunderland have given him hopes of it. Lady Portsmouth has also pretensions for her son. What I write to your Majesty will appear without doubt very extraordinary, but England has no resemblance to other countries.”

Extrait d'une depeche de Mr. Barillon au Roi, 5 Decembre, 1680.

“ J'ENVOYE à votre Majesté, dans un memoire apart, les noms des membres du parlement que j'ai engagés dans ses interets. Le fondement de tous ces engagements est que le parlement n'entrera point dans l'alliance taite avec l'Espagne, ni dans celles qui se pourroient proposer avec les Etats Généraux, ou avec l'Empereur et d'autres Princes de l'Empire, et ne donnera point d'argent à sa Majesté Britannique pour les soutenir; la plus grande partie de ces liaisons n'a pu se faire par moi meme; il se trouveroit peu de gens qui voulussent traiter directement avec moi, ny avoir un commerce, par lequel ils exposeroient leur fortune et leur vie. Je me suis servi de M. de Montaigu et de Madame Hervé sa sœur, du Sieur Herbert, du Sieur Algernon de Sydni, et du Sieur Beber, de tous lesquels j'ai reçu deja de grands secours dans l'affaire du Compte de Dambi. Les interêts de ceux avec qui j'ai commerce sont fort differens et fort opposé. M. de Montaigu voudroit rentrer à la cour, et avoir s'il étoit possible une grande charge; il seroit bien aisé auparavant d'aller Ambassadeur Extraordinaire en France pour quelque tems. Il s'est déclaré ouvertement contre M. le Duc d'York, et est entré avec M. de Monmouth dans une confidence intime; il s'est lié aussi avec milord Roussel et milord Scafbery. Quoique M. de Montaigu soit dans les interêts de votre Majesté depuis longtems, et que la somme dont il attend le payement soit seule suffisante pour l'empêcher de faire aucune démarche contraire, il auroit bien voulu que je fusse entré plus avant dans l'affaire de M. le Duc de Monmouth, et la retenue qu'il m'a vu avoir sur cela lui fait quelque fois soupçonner que sa Majesté soutient M. le Duc d'York, et qu'elle le veut protéger à l'avenir. Je le rassure en lui disant, que la resolution de soutenir une prétention telle qu'est celle de M. le Duc de Monmouth ne se
prend

prend pas légèrement. Qu'il lui doit suffire que M. le Prince d'Orange est son plus grand ennemi, qu'il l'est aussi de la France ; que votre Majesté se déterminera selon qu'elle le trouvera plus à propos quand le couronne d'Angleterre sera disputée entre plusieurs prétendans ; mais que cependant elle ne se doit point mêler dans les affaires du dedans de l'Angleterre, si ce n'est pour empêcher qu'il ne se fasse rien à l'égard du dehors qui soit opposé à ses intérêts : que pour ce qui regarde M. le Duc d'York, sa conduite passée dispense votre Majesté de tout ce qu'elle auroit fait, s'il avoit persisté dans les premières engagements qu'il avoit pris. Que présentement votre Majesté a trop de prudence pour se charger de protéger un Prince contre lequel toute l'Angleterre paroît unie : qu'à l'égard du Roi de la Grande Bretagne, tout ce qui s'est fait depuis quelques années détourneroit votre Majesté de le soutenir pour augmenter son autorité, et gouverner plus absolument, quand même le véritable intérêt de votre Majesté ne se trouveroit pas à maintenir le gouvernement d'Angleterre dans la forme qu'il est établi. Tout ce que je dis ne persuade pas M. de Montaigu ; mais l'argent que je lui ai payé par ordre de votre Majesté le rassure fort. Je crois qu'il seroit nécessaire de lui faire un second paiement de cinquante mille francs ; car l'excuse des lettres de change qui ne viennent pas assez vite n'est pas suffisante, et dans la conjoncture présente il peut m'être d'une grande utilité pour les affaires de votre Majesté. Madame Harvé sa sœur est aussi avant que lui dans toutes les intrigues : c'est une femme d'une esprit hardi et entreprenant, et qui a des liaisons et des commerces avec un grand nombre de gens de la cour et du parlement. C'est par elle que j'ai engagé le Sieur Hamden et le Sieur Harbord, qui sont deux des plus considérables membres du parlement.

Le Sieur Algernon Sidney est un homme de grandes vues et de desseins fort élevés qui tendent tous à l'établissement d'une République. Il est dans le parti des indépendans et des autres sectaires ; et ce parti là fût le maître

maitre dans les défordres passés : ils ne sont pas fort puissans présentement dans le parlement, mais ils le sont fort dans Londres ; et c'est par l'intrigue du Sieur Algernon Sydney que l'un des deux Echevins nommé Bethel a été élu. Mr. le Duc de Bouquinquand est dans ce même parti, et croit être à la tête. Il y est en effet quant à l'apparence ; mais dans le fonds, c'est le Docteur Hoen, qui est comme le patriarche des sectaires, et le Sieur Pen, est le chef des Trembleurs. Ce dernier est un homme de beaucoup d'esprit, fils d'une Vice-Admiral d'Angleterre, et est fort riche : il est assurément à la tête d'un fort grand parti quoiqu'il ne paroisse pas dans les assemblées publiques dont ils sont exclus. Il s'agit présentement de moderer les loix pénales à leur égard ; c'est la chose la plus importante qui puisse être agitée pour le dedans de l'Angleterre, et qui va à la destruction entière de l'Episcopat et de la religion Anglicane.

Le service que je puis tirer de M. Sidney ne paroît pas, car son commerce est avec des gens obscurs et cachés : mais il est intime ami du Sieur Jonnes, qui est l'homme le plus sçavant dans les loix d'Angleterre ; il sera Chancelier si le parti opposé à la cour est supérieur, et que le Compte de Scafbury se contente de quelqu'autre place.

Mr. Harbord est le même que j'engageai dans l'affaire du grand Trésorier, il est ami de M. de Montaigu, mais ils n'ont pas les mêmes liaisons avec M. le Duc de Monmouth ; au contraire celui ci a paru être dans les intérêts de M. le Prince d'Orange : j'ai engagé par lui beaucoup de gens fort accredités dans le parlement et dans Londres. C'est un homme actif et vigilant, par qui j'ai de fort bons avis, et qui a fort envie de faire sa fortune par le moyen de la France. Mr. de Montaigu ne sçait qu'une partie des liaisons que nous avons.

Le Chevalier Beber est celui par qui j'ai commerce avec les Presbitériens ; c'est un homme riche, et qui craint les défordres ; il est dans le fonds attaché à M. le Duc d'York. Je vois bien que les soins qu'il a pris n'ont pas été inutiles ; car les Presbitériens sont entièrement opposés à M. le Prince d'Orange, et je crois qu'il
seroit

seroit fort difficile de racommoder ce qui a été fait contre lui.

Il y a d'autres gens dont je tire quelques services. Le Baron de Wites en est un. Je l'ai connu à Cologne, et il m'a donné d'assez bons avis depuis que je suis icy ; le Roy de la Grande Bretagne et M. le Duc d'York ont de la confiance en lui ; il paroît mécontent des Espagnols dont il prétend avoir été fort maltraité : je ne voudrois pas me fier a cela, mais je m'en fers sans lui rien confier d'important.

Le Sieur Ducros, Résident du Duc de Holstein, me donne aussi de fort bons avis ; il est fort ami de milord Cavendish, et a pouvoir sur son esprit. Il a fait l'écrit que j'envoye à votre Majesté ; je l'ai fait traduire en Anglois, pour en faire distribuer des copies : ces sortes de libelles sont d'une grande utilité en ce pays cy. C'est le même Ducros, qui fit cet esté les remarques sur l'Alliance avec l'Espagne, dont les ministres furent fort fachés, et auroient fort souhaité en decouvrir l'auteur.

J'ai gagné un commis de milord Sonderland nommé le Pin, qui me donne quelque fois de bons avis. Je conserve toujours un commerce avec M. le Duc de Bouquingam ; il a été assez malade, il se porte mieux á present. Si les affaires s'aigrissent, comme il pourra bien arriver, il aura beaucoup de crédit dans Londres ; il fera plus de figure que l'on ne se l'imagine ; il a été à la chambre haute un fois ; il est ennemi de M. le Duc de Monmouth, et par là il est en quelque façon pour M. le Duc d'York.

Mon principal soin et ma première application ont été d'engager des gens accredités dans le parlement pour empêcher que les alliances ne fussent approuvées, et qu'on ne donnat de l'argent pour les soutenir ; c'est l'intérêt présent de votre Majesté ; mais à l'égard de l'avenir, je vois que ce que votre Majesté a le plus à cœur, est d'empêcher qu'il ne se fasse une réunion de l'Angleterre, par un raccommodement de sa Majesté Britannique et de son parlement.

Votre

Votre Majesté croit avec fondement que l'élévation de Mr. le Duc de Montmouth y peut contribuer beaucoup ; ainsi j'ai cherché les moyens de le traverser et de reculer ses prétentions, sans m'exposer à être soupçonné de favoriser M. le Duc d'York. Il fût averti il y a deux jours par M. Herbert, qu'il étoit venu un courrier exprès de M. le Prince d'Orange pour offrir à sa Majesté Britannique, son secours et tout ce qui est en son pouvoir, en cas que les affaires se brouillent ici. C'est ce qui a fondé le bruit que les Etats Généraux offroient d'entrer dans tous les intérêts de sa Majesté Britannique ; cela est assez répandu dans le parlement, et produit un mauvais effet pour eux. J'ai cru que je devois prendre ce tems là pour fortifier encore le Roi de la Grande Bretagne, en cas qu'il soit capable de prendre une bonne résolution, et lui oter le scrupule que votre Majesté fût refroidie de l'aider, s'il étoit en une trop étroite liaison avec le Prince d'Orange : Pour cela j'ai chargé milord St. Albans de lui dire, que le desir sincere que votre Majesté a de la conservation de sa Majesté Britannique, ne sera point retardé par la considération des intérêts de M. le Prince d'Orange ; et que votre Majesté consentira, que les mesures qui seront prises entre elle et sa Majesté Britannique ne soient point contraires aux intentions de M. le Prince d'Orange ; en un mot, que l'union de la maison royale d'Angleterre ne sera point traversée par votre Majesté, et que s'il y a des expédiens qui puissent faire subsister sa Majesté Britannique sans se soumettre entièrement à ses sujets, votre Majesté les facilitera de sa part autant qu'il sera en son pouvoir. J'ai bien chargé milord St. Alban's de faire valoir au Roi de la Grande Bretagne la considération que votre Majesté a en cela pour ses intérêts, préférablement à toutes les raisons qu'elle pourroit avoir de s'opposer à la grandeur de M. le Prince d'Orange. Milord St. Alban m'a dit, que le Roi de la Grande Bretagne avoit reçu cette ouverture avec beaucoup de joie, et qu'il l'avoit chargé de m'en remercier ; mais ce Prince ne s'est point encore ouvert sur la conclusion d'un traité,

traité, et par là il paroît qu'il n'est pas encore déterminé à casser le parlement.

J'ai cru, Sire, que l'avance que j'ai fait à sa Majesté Britannique ne pouvoit produire qu'un bon effet. Votre Majesté m'a donné ordre de favoriser plutôt la prétention de M. le Prince d'Orange que celle M. le Duc de Montmouth; je ne le pouvois faire dans le parlement sans me discréditer entièrement, et perdre le fruit de toutes les liaisons que j'y ai faites; mais les intentions de votre Majesté auroient leur effet, si M. le Prince d'Orange emportoit la balance dans l'esprit de sa Majesté Britannique sur M. le Duc de Montmouth.

Après ce que votre Majesté m'a mandé sur cela, je ne me donne plus la liberté de penser que l'élévation de M. le Duc de Montmouth seroit une occasion de trouble pour longtems en Angleterre, entre deux familles qui prétendroient à la couronne. Je me renferme à ce que votre Majesté m'a prescrit, et je ne perdrai point d'occasion de traverser les prétentions de M. le Duc de Montmouth quand je le pourrai faire avec succès. Je reconnois que votre Majesté doit empêcher qu'il ne serve de prétexte à une réunion, et qu'il ne s'établisse en sa personne une royauté si foible, que ce seroit dans le fonds une république. C'est sur cela que je dirigerai ma conduite: Cependant je crois qu'il est de la prudence de ne rien faire paroître d'une telle intention, et de laisser toujours cette cabale se flatter que votre Majesté est plus disposée à favoriser M. le Duc de Montmouth que Monsieur le Prince d'Orange."

Translation.

Extract of a dispatch from Mr. Barillon to Louis the XIVth, 5th December, 1680.—His intrigues with the popular party and with the King to continue the divisions of England.

"I SEND your Majesty, in a memorial apart, the names of the members of Parliament whom I have

have engaged in your interests. The foundation of all these engagements is, that the parliament shall not enter into the alliance made with Spain, nor into those which may be proposed with the States General, the Emperor, and other Princes of the empire, nor give any money to his Britannick Majesty to support them. The greatest part of these connections could not be made by myself; few were to be found who would directly treat with, or have any commerce with me, by which they might have exposed their fortunes and their lives. I made use of Mr. Montague and Mrs. Hervey, his sister; of Mr. Harbord, Algernoon Sidney, and the Sieur Beber, from all of whom I had already received great help in the affair of the Earl of Danby. The interests of those with whom I am in commerce are very different and very opposite. Mr. Mountague would willingly be well with the court, and have a great place if it were possible; he would be very glad first to go ambassador extraordinary to France for some time. He has declared himself openly against the Duke of York, and is entered into an intimate confidence with the Duke of Monmouth; he is also united with Lord Ruffel and Lord Shaftesbury. Although Mr. Mountague has been in your Majesty's interests a long time, and the sum of which he expects the payment is alone sufficient to prevent his taking any contrary step, he wishes that I would enter farther into the Duke of Monmouth's affair, and the reserve which he observes in me upon that head, makes him sometimes suspect that your Majesty supports the Duke of York, and that you will protect him hereafter. I make him easy by telling him that the resolution to support such a pretension as the Duke of Monmouth's is not lightly to be taken; that it ought to suffice that the Prince of Orange is his greatest enemy, as he is also of France; that your Majesty will determine according to what you think most proper, when the crown of England shall be disputed among many pretenders; but in the interim it is not your province to meddle with the domestic
affairs

affairs of England, except to prevent any steps being taken with regard to foreign ones, which may be contrary to your interests. That as to what regards the Duke of York, his past conduct frees your Majesty from all you might have done for him; if he had persisted in the first engagements which he formed; that at present your Majesty had too much prudence to charge yourself with the protection of a prince against whom all England seemed to be united. That with regard to the King of Great Britain, all he has done for some years past would put it out of your Majesty's thoughts to assist him in augmenting his authority, and governing absolutely, even though your Majesty's true interest was not to maintain the government of England in the form now established. All I said did not persuade Mr. Montague, but the money I paid him by your Majesty's orders makes his mind very easy. I believe it will be necessary to make him a second payment of fifty thousand livres, for the excuse of the bills of exchange not coming fast enough is not sufficient, and in the present conjuncture he may be of great use to me in your Majesty's affairs. Mrs. Hervey, his sister, is as deep as him in all the intrigues: She is a woman of a bold and enterprising spirit, and has interest and connections with a great number of people of the court and parliament. It was through her I engaged Mr. Hamden and Mr. Harbord, who are two of the most considerable members of parliament.

The Sieur Algernoon Sidney is a man of great views and very high designs, which tend to the establishment of a republic. He is in the party of the independants and other sectaries; and this party were masters during the last troubles: they are not at present very powerful in parliament, but they are strong in London; and it is through the intrigues of the Sieur Algernoon Sidney that one of the two sheriffs, named Bethel, has been elected. The Duke of Buckingham is of the same party, and believes himself at the head; he is so in effect as to the appearance, but at the bottom it is

Doctor

Doctor Owen who is the patriarch of the sectaries, and Mr. Pen, who is the chief of the Quakers. This last is a man of great parts, son of a vice-admiral of England, and very rich : he is certainly at the head of a very great party, although he does not appear in public assemblies, from which his sect are excluded. The moderating of the penal laws, with regard to them, is at present upon the carpet; it is the most important thing that can be agitated with regard to the domestic affairs of England, and leads to the entire destruction of episcopacy and of the English religion.

The service which I may draw from Mr. Sidney does not appear, for his connections are with obscure and concealed persons; but he is intimate with the Sieur Jones, who is a man of the greatest knowledge in the laws of England, and will be chancellor if the party opposed to the court shall gain the superiority, and the Earl of Shaftesbury be contented with any other employment.

Mr. Harbord is the same whom I engaged in the affair of the high treasurer; he is a friend of Mr. Montague's, but has not the same connections with the Duke of Monmouth; on the contrary, he appears to be in the Prince of Orange's interest: through him I have engaged many persons of great credit in parliament, and in London. He is an active vigilant man, from whom I have very good informations, and who has a great desire to make his fortune by means of France. Mr. Montague knows only a part of the connexions which we have.

The Chevalier Beber is he through whom I have a connexion with the Presbyterians. He is a rich man, and afraid of troubles; at the bottom he is attached to the Duke of York. I see plainly that the pains he has taken have not been useless, for the Presbyterians are entirely against the Prince of Orange, and I believe it will be very difficult to set to rights what has been done against him.

There

There are other people from whom I got some services. The baron de Wites is one of them. I knew him at Col6gne, and he has given me pretty good advices since I came here; the King of Great Britain and the Duke of York put confidence in him; he appears discontented with the Spaniards, by whom he alleges he has been very ill treated. I would not trust to that, but make use of him without confiding any thing important to him.

The Sieur Ducros, resident from the Duke of Holstein, gives me also very good intelligence; he is a great friend of Lord Cavendish, and has much influence upon his mind. He is author of the writing which I send your Majesty; I have had it translated into English to distribute copies of it. Libels of this kind are of great use in this country. It is the same Ducros, who, this summer composed the remarks upon the Spanish Alliance, with which the ministers were very angry, and wished much to know the author.

I have gained one of Lord Sunderland's clerks, named le Pin, who sometimes gives me good information. I keep always a connexion with the Duke of Buckingham; he has been very ill, but is at present better. If affairs grow worse, as it may very well happen, he will have a great deal of credit in London; he will make a greater figure than is imagined; he has been once at the upper house; he is an enemy to the Duke of Monmouth, and is thereby in some measure for the Duke of York.

My principal care and my first application has been to engage persons of credit in parliament to hinder the alliances being approved, and the granting of money to support them. This is the present interest of your Majesty; but with regard to the future, I see what your Majesty has most at heart is to prevent England from being re-united by an accommodation between his Britannick Majesty and his parliament.

Your Majesty has grounds for thinking that the Duke of Monmouth's elevation might contribute much

to that union. Upon this account I have sought for all means of traversing and throwing back his pretensions; without exposing myself to be suspected of favouring the Duke of York. He was informed two days ago by Mr. Herbert that a courier was come express from the Prince of Orange to offer his help to his Britannick Majesty; and every thing in his power in case affairs should be embroiled here. This is the foundation of the report that the States General offer to enter into all his Britannick Majesty's interests: this offer is sufficiently spread in parliament, and produces a bad effect for them. I thought it my duty to take this opportunity again to embolden his Britannick Majesty in case he is capable of taking a good resolution; and to remove the doubt that he has that your Majesty will be backward to assist him, if he was too strictly united with the Prince of Orange. For this purpose, I charged my lord St. Alban's to tell him that the sincere desire your Majesty had for the preservation of his Britannick Majesty would not be impeded by the consideration of the Prince of Orange's interests; and that your Majesty will consent that the measures to be taken between you and his Britannick Majesty shall not be contrary to the intentions of the Prince of Orange: in a word, that the union of the royal house of England shall not be opposed by your Majesty; and that if there are any expedients which can enable his Britannick Majesty to subsist himself without entirely submitting to his subjects, that your Majesty will facilitate them on your part as much as may be in your power. I particularly charged lord St. Albans to point out to the King of Great Britain the regard your Majesty had for his interests in preference to all the reasons which you might have to oppose the Prince of Orange's greatness: Lord St. Albans told me, that the King of Great Britain had received his overture with a great deal of joy, and that he had ordered him to thank me; but this Prince has not yet opened himself upon the conclusion
of

of a treaty, from whence it appears that he has not yet determined to dissolve his parliament.

I thought, Sire, that this advance which I have made to his Britannick Majesty could not but produce a good effect. Your Majesty gave me orders to favour the Prince of Orange's pretensions rather than those of the Duke of Monmouth; I could not do it in parliament without discrediting myself entirely, and losing the fruits of all the connexions I have made there; but your Majesty's intentions will have their effect, if the Prince of Orange sinks the balance in his Britannick Majesty's mind against the Duke of Monmouth.

After your Majesty's commands upon this head, I shall not permit myself any more to reflect how the Duke of Monmouth's elevation would be the occasion of troubles, for a long time in England, between two families pretending to the crown. I shall confine myself to what your Majesty prescribes me, and will lose no occasion to thwart the Duke of Monmouth's pretensions whenever I can do it with success. I acknowledge your Majesty ought to prevent his serving as an instrument of a re-union, and establishing in his person so weak a monarchy, as at the bottom to be only a republick. I shall direct my conduct on this ground; however I believe it is prudent not to let any thing appear of such an intention, and always to let this cabal flatter itself, that your Majesty is more disposed to favour the Duke of Monmouth than the Prince of Orange."

Some of the foregoing French dispatches shew a belief in the French court at this time of the probability of the Duke of Monmouth's success in his pretensions, and their fear lest this success might prove the instrument of restoring harmony between the King and the popular party in parliament. To prevent this, Barillon received the strange instructions mentioned in his last letter for bringing about a junction of the French and the Prince of Orange's interests in defence of the

In the Depor.

royal family of England. But the Prince of Orange was too wise to expect favours from Louis XIVth; he trusted to the good sense of the English, that if they excluded the Duke of York from the succession on the principle of his being a papist, they must admit his daughters to it on that of their being protestants; he knew his own personal interest in England, and even in the King's court, to be great; for Barillon writes on the 4th Nov. 1680, that Godolphin, and also Sunderland, notwithstanding his pretended friendship with the Dutchess of Portsmouth, were entirely in his interests. He probably knew too the private sentiments of Charles with regard to the irregular ambition of his son; for Barillon relates in his dispatch of 21 Nov. 1680, that Monmouth having said in his speech to the house of Lords upon the exclusion, that he would vote for it because he thought the King's safety involved in it; Charles, who was present, said aloud: "it is a Judas kiss which he gives me." Presuming on all these circumstances, the Prince of Orange got the famous Dutch and Spanish memorials sent over, which pressed the King to consent to the exclusion of his brother.

In the mean time, Charles was listening, though without precipitation, to the advances made by Barillon through means of Lord St. Albans for a new money treaty between the two Kings. The intentions of the French with regard to the terms of the treaty were originally, that Charles should withdraw himself from the late Spanish alliance, and recal his ambassadors from the German and northern courts; that the Duke should return; that the Roman Catholics should be favourably treated, and the penal laws against them suspended; that Charles should never more call a parliament; and that in consideration of these things he should have a pension for three years. But the impatience of the Duke of York in his exile could not
brook

brook a delay ; for as soon as he heard a treaty was thought of, he dispatched Churchill to London to press it forward.

His impatience in Scotland, his sending off Churchill, and the instructions which Barillon got relative to the terms of the intended treaty, appear in the following dispatch.

Lettre de Mr. le Duc d'York a Mr. de Barillon, écrite d'Edinbourg, 1680, sans date.—Cette lettre est devant celle du 23 Decembre de M. Barillon au Roy.

“ C’EST avec beaucoup de satisfaction que j’ai reçu votre lettre, puisque vous me donnez de nouvelles assurances des bontés que le Roy votre maitre a pour moi ; je ferai mon devoir pour en meriter la continuation, c’est de quoi je vous prie de l’assurer.

Pour ce pays cy, la noblesse et les gens de qualité sont par intérêt attachés a la royauté, et ils sont les maitres icy : pour ce qui est de l’Angleterre vous êtes sur les lieux, et vous savez ce qui s’y passe aussi bien que moi ; si j’étois de retour auprès du Roy mon frere, je pourrois esperer de moyenner une aussi bonne correspondance que jamais il y ait eu entre lui et le Roy votre maitre ; mais tant que je serai éloigné cela fera difficile a faire ; car vous voyez par les tours qu’ils m’ont faits que je ne puis me fier ni à Madame de Portsmouth ni à milord Sunderland ; et pour ceux qui ont ou qui peuvent avoir la confiance du Roi mon frere, à moins que je n’y sois, ils ne donneront jamais les mains à ce que nous souhaitons. Vous pouvez m’écrire quelque fois par la même voie que vous avez fait.”

Translation.

Letter from the Duke of York to Mr. Barillon, written from Edinburgh, 1680, without date. — This letter is before that of the 23d December from Mr. Barillon to Louis the XIVth. — Complains of the usage he has met with. — Anxious to return to England.

“ **I** Received your letter with a great deal of satisfaction, because you give me fresh assurances of the King your master’s goodness to me; I will endeavour to deserve the continuance of it, whereof I beg you to assure him.

With regard to this country, the nobility and persons of quality are by interest attached to royalty, and they are the masters here: as to England, you are upon the spot, and know what passes there as well as myself; if I was to return to the King my brother, I might hope to pave the way for as good a correspondence as ever between him and the King your master; but as long as I shall be absent, it will be difficult to do it; for you see by the tricks they have played me, that I cannot confide either in Lady Portsmouth or Lord Sunderland; and as for those who have or may have the King my brother’s confidence, unless I am there, they will never lend a hand to what we wish. You may sometimes write to me by the same way you have done.”

Extrait depeche de Mr. Barillon au Roy, 3. Fevrier, 1681.

In the Depot.

“ **L** E Sieur Chercheil a toujours été en Ecoſſe avec M. le Duc d’York: Il arriva icy avant hier, et m’apporta un billet de ce Prince dont j’envoye la copie à votre Maſteſté; ce qu’il m’a dit, m’a marqué beaucoup d’envie de la part de M. le Duc d’York de pouvoir revenir auprès du Roi ſon frere, mais il ne me paroît pas que

que les affaires se disposent encore icy à cela ; ainsi je n'ai pas cru qu'il fût tems d'exécuter l'ordre que votre Majesté m'a donné de demander le retour de M. le Duc d'York ; j'ai seulement dit à M. Chercheil que votre Majesté le souhaite, et qu'elle m'avoit ordonné de m'y employer, quand je croirai que cela sera possible.

Mr. Chercheil m'a dit, que M. le Duc d'York croyoit, qu'il trouveroit icy une négociation commencée par retablissement d'une étroite liaison entre votre Majesté et le Roi d'Angleterre ; et que le principal sujet de son voyage étoit pour presser sa Majesté Britannique de conclure un traité avec votre Majesté ; que je voyois qu'il me pressoit par son billet de ne point perdre de tems pour agir, et de faire des propositions qui pussent aller à une conclusion ; parceque M. le Duc d'York étoit averti qu'on faisoit les derniers efforts pour empêcher le Roi d'Angleterre de prendre aucunes mesures avec votre Majesté ; et qu'au contraire on vouloit lui faire prendre des liaisons très opposées à ses intérêts : que l'on avoit dessein de faire venir icy M. le Prince d'Orange ; c'est à dire, de le rendre maître des affaires, et de l'établir des à présent d'une manière qui ne pourroit être changée à l'avenir.

Je ne suis point ouvert à M. Chercheil du pouvoir que j'avois de conclure un traité, n'y de ce qui a passé par milord St. Alban ; je lui ai dit seulement que votre Majesté étoit dans des dispositions très favorables pour le retablissement d'une bonne intelligence avec sa Majesté Britannique, et que la principale considération de votre Majesté étoit la conservation de M. le Duc d'York, et l'envie de le maintenir à la succession de la couronne. Que je ne perdrois pas d'occasion de témoigner au Roi d'Angleterre combien votre Majesté croit que la conservation de M. le Duc d'York est importante pour la conservation de l'autorité royale en Angleterre : que j'aurai bientôt des ordres de votre Majesté sur tout ce qui se passe ici, et que j'apporterai alors tous mes soins pour faire reussir une négociation, dont je vois bien que le salut de M. le Duc d'York dépend. M. Chercheil m'a avoué franchement que ce Prince

n'étoit pas en état de se maintenir en Ecoſſe, ſi le Roi ſon frere ne le ſoutenoit ici. On a brulé une maiſon du prévôt d'Edimbourg; c'eſt le premier magiſtrat de la ville, il a la même fonction que le maire de Londres. On croit que les écoliers qui ont brulé l'effigie du Pape, ont mis le feu la nuit à cette maiſon du prévôt, qui n'eſt qu'à un mil d'Edimbourg.

Après avoir relu fort attentivement la dernière dépêche de votre Majeſté, il me paroît que les conditions ſur les qu'elles elle s'explique n'arrêteront pas la conclusion d'un traité, et qu'au contraire elles peuvent fort le faciliter. Votre Majeſté ne demande, ſur le traité d'Eſpagne, qu'une parole de s'en retirer peu à peu; cela ne ſe peut refuſer quand le Roi d'Angleterre voudra rentrer en liaiſon avec votre Majeſté: Le rappel des miniſtres qu'il a dans toutes les cours d'Allemagne et du nord n'eſt pas non plus une choſe qui puiſſe rompre un traité, et il ſera aisé à ſa Majeſté Britannique de les rappeler ſous pretexte d'économie, outre, qu'en l'état où ſont les affaires d'Angleterre, peu de Princes s'emprefſeront à faire des alliances avec ſa Majeſté Britannique.

La condition du retour de M. le Duc d'York eſt auſſi une choſe qui ſe doit ménager avec le tems, et je ne penſe pas que votre Majeſté la voulût preſcrire comme une condition eſſentielle qui put être executée ſans délai, non plus qu'un traitement favorable pour les Catholiques, et la ſuſpenſion des loix penales à leur égard; ces ſont pluſtôt des ſuites neceſſaires d'une bonne intelligence avec votre Majeſté, que des conditions ſur les qu'elles on put inſiſter, et rompre la conclusion d'une alliance. Il reſte ſeulement une difficulté, c'eſt celle d'éloigner pour toujours la ſéance du parlement. Je ſcai bien que c'eſt une ſureté que votre Majeſté a raiſon de demander; mais elle me promet à l'année 1679, de conſentir que le parlement ſ'aſſemblât quand le Roi d'Angleterre croiroit le devoir faire pour ſes intérêts, pourvu qu'alors les ſubſides ceſſaſſent: Peut-être que le Roi d'Angleterre ſera bien aisé de tenir le parlement
aſſemblé

assemblé quelques jours à Oxford, et qu'il voudra encore chercher les moyens de le satisfaire, en offrant les modifications qu'il à déjà offertes en cas que M. le Duc d'York vint à la couronne.

Le Comte de St. Albans m'a dit, que si le Roi d'Angleterre avoit fait un traité avec votre Majesté, ou si il étoit assuré d'en conclure un, il tiendrait une conduite bien différente à l'égard du parlement, et seroit bien plus en état de maintenir son autorité, et de ne pas se laisser tenter par les propositions qui lui seroient faites; il est nécessaire que je sois pleinement instruit sur cela des intentions de votre Majesté.

Je conserve les liaisons que j'ai avec plusieurs membres du parlement; j'ai vu les principaux qui m'ont tous parus fort animés contre la cour, et fort aigris que le parlement soit convoqué hors de Londres: Ils ne sont pas sans apprehension que le Roi d'Angleterre ne veuille avoir des troupes autour d'Oxford, et rendre par là leur assemblée moins libre. Ils parlent d'y venir assez bien accompagnés pour ne pas apprehender une insulte; c'est une proposition qui a été fait parmi eux; si elle s'exécutoit, ce seroit en quelque façon se mettre sous les armes de part et d'autre; ce qui me paroît de meilleur presentement pour le Roi d'Angleterre, c'est que la ville de Londres est assez calme, et que les plus riches merchants craignent les desordres."

Translation.

Extract of a dispatch from Mr. Barillon to Louis the XIV, 3d February, 1681. — Churchill is come from Scotland to promote a treaty with France — Barillon conceals from him that it is begun. — Barillon's instructions with regard to the Treaty.

"**T**HE Sieur Churchill has been all this while in Scotland with the Duke of York: He arrived here the day before yesterday, and brought me a billet from the Duke; a copy of which I send your Majesty.

Majesty. What he says shews a great desire on the Duke of York's part to be able to return to the King his brother; but it does not appear to me that affairs are yet disposed for it here; therefore I did not think it time to execute the order your Majesty gave me, to ask the Duke of York's return; I have only told Mr. Churchill that your Majesty wished it; and that you had ordered me to employ myself in it when I should believe it possible to be brought about.

Mr. Churchill said, that the Duke of York believed he should find a negotiation begun here for the re-establishment of a strict alliance between your Majesty and the King of England; and that the principal cause of his journey was to press his Britannick Majesty to conclude a treaty with your Majesty; that I saw he pressed me by his billet not to lose any time in acting and making proposals which might lead to a conclusion, because the Duke of York was informed that the greatest efforts were making to hinder the King of England from taking any measures with your Majesty; and on the contrary, for making him take measures very opposite to your interests: That it was designed that the Prince of Orange should come over, with a view that he might become the master of affairs, and be established now in a manner which could not be changed hereafter.

I did not open myself to Mr. Churchill upon the power I have to conclude a treaty, nor upon what had passed by means of Lord St. Alban's; I only told him that your Majesty was in very favourable dispositions for re-establishing a good intelligence with his Britannick Majesty, and that your Majesty's principal consideration was the preservation of the Duke of York, and your desire to support him in the succession to the throne. That I should not lose any opportunity of letting the King of England know how much your Majesty believes the preserving the Duke of York is important to the preservation of the royal authority in England; that I shall soon have orders from your Majesty upon

all

all that passes here, and I should then bend all my cares to cause a negotiation to succeed on which I well saw the safety of the Duke of York depended. Mr. Churchill frankly owned that this Prince was not in a condition to maintain himself in Scotland, if the King his brother did not support him there. They have burnt the house of the Provost of Edinburgh; he is the first magistrate of the city, and has the same functions with the Mayor of London. It is believed that the students who burnt the Pope in effigy, set fire, during the night, to the Provost's house, which is but a mile from Edinburgh.

After having read over again with attention your Majesty's last dispatch, it appears to me that the conditions upon which you explain yourself will not stop the conclusion of a treaty, and on the contrary may much forward it. Your Majesty only asks, with regard to the treaty with Spain, an assurance to withdraw from it by degrees; this cannot be refused when the King of England shall incline to renew his connexion with your Majesty. Neither is the recalling of the ministers from all the courts of Germany and the north a circumstance which can break off the treaty; and it will be easy for his Britannick Majesty to recall them under pretence of œconomy; besides, in the condition in which the affairs of England are, few Princes will press to make alliances with his Britannick Majesty.

The condition of the Duke of York's return is also a thing that should be managed with time, and I do not imagine that your Majesty will prescribe it as an essential condition which must be executed without delay, any more than the favourable treatment of the Catholics, and the suspension of the penal laws on their account; these are rather necessary consequences of a good intelligence with your Majesty, than conditions to be insisted on, and which might break the conclusion of an alliance. There remains only one difficulty, which is that of putting off for ever the sitting of parliament. I know very well it is a security your Majesty has reason to demand: but you promised me, in the year 1679, to
consent

consent that the parliament should assemble when the King of England believed it necessary for his own interests, provided that then the subsidies should cease : perhaps the King of England may be inclined to keep the parliament assembled some days at Oxford, and may still try for means to satisfy it, by offering the limitations which he has already offered in case the Duke of York shall come to the crown.

The Earl of St. Albans told me, that if the King of England had made a treaty with your Majesty, or if he was assured of concluding one, he would observe a very different conduct with regard to parliament, and would be much more in a condition to maintain his authority, and not let himself be tempted by the proposals which might be made to him ; it is necessary I should be fully instructed in your Majesty's intentions upon this head.

I keep up the connexions I have with many members of parliament ; I have seen the principal, who all appear much animated against the court, and are very angry that the parliament is summoned to meet out of London : they are not without apprehension that the King of England may have troops around Oxford, and thereby render their meeting less free : they talk of coming there sufficiently well accompanied not to apprehend an insult. This is a proposal which has been made amongst them ; if it is executed, it will be in some measure taking up arms on both sides ; what appears to me the best symptom for the King of England at present, is, that the city of London is quiet enough, and the richest merchants are afraid of troubles."

Charles kept this treaty in suspense from December until the 26th of March, probably provoked by the exorbitancy of some of the terms demanded of him, and in hopes that the two parliaments which sat in that interval might have furnished him with supplies to relieve

lieve his necessities. But the impatience of the Duke of York increased in proportion to his distance from the scene of action, and the importance of his own interest, as appears from the two following letters.

Lettre de Duc d'York a Mr. Barillon, 1681, sans date, recue le premier Mars.

“ **L** E gentilhomme que vous m’avez mandé être en In the Depot.
chemin pour venir icy n’y est pas encore arrivé ; mais nonobstant cela, je crois qu’il est en votre pouvoir d’établir présentement les affaires dans le lieu où vous êtes, si vous voulez seulement parler au Roy mon frere, et lui en faire la proposition ; il est tems à present ou jamais de conclure ce marché, car autrement le Roy d’Angleterre sera obligé de se mettre entre les mains du parlement et du Prince d’Orange, et il seroit trop tard alors, et le Duc d’York seroit infalliblement ruiné. Je scai que quelques personnes qui ont été dans la confiance du Roi d’Angleterre ont pris grand soin de lui persuader qu’il ne pouvoit pas compter sur l’amitié du Roi votre maitre, et que si il étoit pressé sur cela, il trouveroit qu’il ne seroit pas sincerement ni veritablement son ami : je scai bien que cela a été dit autrefois au Roi d’Angleterre, et qu’on peut encore lui dire la même chose ; c’est pourquoi c’est à vous à l’assurer du contraire ; de sorte qu’il n’y a point de tems à perdre en cette affaire, car si elle n’est pas commencée présentement, et pendant que Churchil est à Londres, je crains qu’il n’y survienne encore quelque difficulté ; mais j’espere que vous y aurez fait quelque progrès avant son retour. Vous pouvez être sur que le Duc d’York fera son devoir pour presser le Roi d’Angleterre, car si on ne conclut à cette heure, et sans perdre de tems, le Duc d’York est perdu : considerez cela, et ressouvenez vous que quand autrefois on a fait des difficultés, je vous ai toujours prédit ce qui arriveroit, et vous avez vu que je ne me suis pas trompé ; mais présentement je vous assure et vous affirme que si on perd le tems tout est perdu ; c’est pourquoi je vous conjure de faire votre possible

sible pour terminer cette affaire. Faites connoître au Roi votre maître, que s'il a quelque bonté ou considération pour le Duc d'York, il est tems de lui témoigner. Sa Majesté scait à quelque point il est sensible aux graces qu'on lui fait, et je puis repondre qu'il fera tous ses efforts pour les meriter. Je pouvois me servir de quelques autres raisons pour vous engager à faire ce qui presse à present, mais celan 'est pas necessair; puisque vous savez toutes les miennes, et que vous en êtes touché. Ce sera une action tout à fait glorieuse au Roi, de rétablir le Roi d'Angleterre, (car il en faut parler ainsi) et de sauver les pauvres Catholiques; qui autrement seront ruinés sans ressource."

Translation.

Letter from the Duke of York to Mr. Barillon, 1681, without date, received the 1st of March.—Presses him extremely to get a treaty concluded.

“**T**HE gentleman you informed me was on the road to come here is not yet arrived; but nevertheless I believe it is in your power to put matters to rights at present in the place where you are, if you will only speak to the King my brother, and make the proposal to him; it is time now or never to conclude this bargain, for otherwise the King of England will be obliged to put himself into the hands of parliament and of the Prince of Orange; it will then be too late, and the Duke of York infallibly ruined. I know that some persons who have been in the King of England's confidence have taken great pains to persuade him that he could not reckon upon the friendship of the King your master, and that if he was pressed, he would find that he would not be sincerely nor truly his friend: I know well that this was said formerly to the King of England, and that the same thing may again be said to him; it is therefore your part to assure him of the contrary; so that there is no time to lose in this affair, for if it is not begun at present, and while Churchill is in London, I fear some difficulty

difficulty may yet occur ; but I hope you will have made some progress in it before his return. You may be sure the Duke of York will do his duty to press the King of England, for if it is not concluded now, and without loss of time, the Duke of York is lost : consider this, and remember that heretofore when difficulties were made, I always foretold what would happen, and you have seen that I was not mistaken ; but at present I assure you and affirm, that if time is lost, all is lost ; for this reason I conjure you to do all in your power to end this affair. Let the King your master know, that if he has any goodness or consideration for the Duke of York, it is time to shew it. His Majesty knows to what a degree he is sensible of the favours done him, and I can answer that he will use all his efforts to deserve it. I could make use of some other reasons to engage you to do what presses at present ; but that is not necessary, since you know all mine, and are touched with them. It will be an action altogether glorious for the King to re-establish the King of England (for thus it must be spoken of) and to save the poor Catholics, who otherwise will be ruined without resource."

Lettre du Duc d'York a Mr. Barillon, 1681, sans date, recue le 16 Mars, avec la depeche de Mr. Barillon du 10.

"**J**E suis fort aise des assurances que vous me donnez In the *Dépe.*
de la continuation de la bonté que le Roi votre maitre a pour moi ; c'est ce qui m'a obligé (mes affaires pressant fort) de lui écrire, et de lui dépêcher un exprès ; car s'il ne veut présentement me temoigner son amitié, et écouter les propositions que je lui ai faites, mes affaires seront entre cy et peu de tems dans un fort mauvais état, et la royauté entierement ruinée. Ce que je lui ai proposé est, qu'il veuille recommencer un traité avec le Roi d'Angleterre a peu près sur la même plan que celui qui fût une fois si près d'être conclu ; je souhaite de plus que vous recommandiez cette affaire autant
que

que vous le pourrez ; car fans cela je ne puis eſpérer d'être rappellé par le Roi d'Angleterre ; ce que ne pouvant obtenir, il faut de neceſſité que je ſois ruiné ; c'eſt ce que j'eſpere que le Roi votre maitte ne verroit pas volontiers, et vous en connoiſſez les conſequences, qui ſeroient d'avoir une republique en Angleterre. Je n'oſe m'étendre ſur cette matiere autant qu'il ſeroit neceſſaire : vous m'entendez aſſez pour ſavoir ce que je penſe”

Letter from the Duke of York to Mr. Barillon, 1681, without date, received the 16th March, with Mr. Barillon's diſpatch of the 10th.

“**I** AM very glad of the aſſurances you give me of the continuation of the King your maſter's goodneſs towards me ; this has obliged me (my affairs preſſing much) to write to him, and diſpatch an expreſs with the letter, for if he will not ſhew his friendſhip, and hearken to the propoſals I have made him, my affairs will be between this and a little time in a very bad condition, and the monarchy entirely ruined. What I have propoſed to him is, that he will ſet on foot again a treaty with the King of England much upon the ſame plan as that which was once ſo near being concluded ; I moreover wiſh that you will recommend this affair as much as you can, for without that I cannot hope to be recalled by the King of England ; and if that cannot be obtained, I muſt infallibly be ruined. But this I hope the King your maſter will not willingly ſee, and you know the conſequences, which would be to eſtabliſh a Republick in England. I dare not dwell upon this matter ſo much as would be neceſſary : you underſtand me enough to know what I mean.”

In the mean time Charles had been trying to ſoften his two parliaments, firſt by an offer of limitations upon the powers of a popiſh ſucceſſor, and next by a ſcheme for ſettling the government, during the Duke's
life,

life, upon the Princess of Orange, as regent. The house of commons rejected both, and not only refused money for the support of government, but prohibited private persons to lend it to the King. Charles, upon this, hastily struck up a treaty with France on the 24th March, 1681, and a few days after dissolved his parliament, with a resolution never to call another.

Barillon's letter of that date, in the *Départ*.

This is the private treaty, of date 1st April, 1681; which Mr. Hume first produced to the world, from the same source at Versailles from which I have drawn so many others. Barillon's account of the treaty contains, as Mr. Hume justly states it, three things; that Charles should disengage himself by degrees from the Spanish alliance: should take measures to prevent parliament from counteracting his engagement; and should receive a pension of two millions for one year, and 500,000 crowns for two others from France. Barillon had struggled hard that the treaty should be put into writing, and signed by the two Princes; for which he gave this reason to his court in his letter of 3d March, 1681:

“ Il me semble aussi que ce Prince n'oseroit jamais *In the Départ* rendre publique un traité dans lequel il s'est engagé à ne point assembler le parlement; ce seroit un chose fort perilleuse pour sa personne; et entièrement contraire aux loix d'Angleterre.” —It also appears to me that this Prince would not dare to make a treaty public in which he has engaged himself not to assemble a parliament; this would be a very dangerous thing for his person; and entirely contrary to the laws of England.” But Charles refused; and it was verbally agreed upon. No one, except Lord Hyde, was privy to the conditions; for these were concealed even from Lord St. Alban's, though he knew of the treaty. Barillon writes, on the *In the Départ* 14th April, 1681; that the King desired it should be kept secret from the Dutchess of Portsmouth, assigning this courtly reason for doing so; that if the treaty should ever transpire, and she be blamed for it, she might have

it in her power to assert with a safe conscience her innocence.

The French account of the treaty, copied by Mr. Hume, contains some general expressions of Barillon, which implied that France was not to attack the Low Countries or Strasburg; but as the treaty was only verbal, this part of it, and even that which related to the *quantum* of the pension came, as all verbal pactions do, at an after period, to be the subject of dispute.

Notwithstanding the various declarations which Charles made to parliament of his readiness to consent to the scheme of limitations, he (who of all men was certainly the most insincere) gave assurances underhand to the Prince of Orange, that it was not his intention to consent to it; it is probable therefore, that he proposed it only with a view to divide the exclusionists. The Prince of Orange seems to have been sensible of this, and therefore, even after he was informed of the King's intentions to disappoint the scheme, he still insisted that it should not be permitted to be moved in at all. In one of his applications on this head, he expressed himself, that he would consent to any other expedient to reconcile the King and parliament; words, from a person so cautious as he was, which perhaps explained sufficiently that the expedient he pointed at was the exclusion.

On these heads there are in the Paper office the following letters from the Prince of Orange to Sir Leoline Jenkins, during the last great heats about the exclusion.

The Prince of Orange to Sir Leoline Jenkins.

A Honslaerdyck, ce 26 de Juillet, 1680.
 QUOY que l'incartade de milord Scaffburi ne
 m'a pas paru de grande importance, cela n'a
 pas

pas empêche qu'il n'aye fait grand bruit en ce pays comme partout ailleurs, et a donné une mechante impression au gens, comme s'il y avoient plus de desordres à craindre en Angleterre. J'espère que le temps les en desabusera, quoyque pour le present la mauvaïse intention de milord Schaffsburi a eu son effet en donnant cette mechante impression, qui est assurément nuisible au service du Roi et à la tranquillité de l'Europe. Nous le sommes fort ici, quoyque le voyage du Roi de France nous inquiète un peu. Le temps nous fera voir en peu ce que nous avons à en attendre ; cependant je suis toujours entièrement à vous."

Translation.

The Prince of Orange to Sir Leoline Jenkins. — Upon Lord Shaftesbury's presenting the Duke of York as a Popish recusant.

Honflaerdike, 26 July, 1680.

"**A**LTHOUGH Lord Shaftesbury's sally does not appear to me to be of great consequence, that does not prevent its having made a great noise in this country, as well as every where else, and has given people bad impressions, as if there were still more troubles to be dreaded in England. I hope that time will open their eyes, although at present the bad intentions of Lord Shaftesbury have had their effect in giving this bad impression; which is certainly hurtful to the King; and to the tranquillity of Europe. We are quiet here, although the King of France's journey gives us a little uneasiness. Time will show us what we have to fear ; in the mean time I am always entirely yours."

The Prince of Orange to Sir Leoline Jenkins:

A Honflaerdyck, ce 13 de Sept. 1680.

"**Q**UOY que l'on soit ici fort aise que le parlement s'assemblera si tost, l'on est dans une extrême apprehension pour le succès ; s'il n'est tel que

l'on doit l'esperer, je ne vois aucune ressource pour les affaires de l'Europe qui seront en un pitoyable état. Dieu veuille que le Roi et son parlement s'accorde; sans quoy tout est perdu. Celle ici sera la dernière que je vous escrirai de ce lieu, étant d'intention de partir Lundi prochain pour aller voir Mr. le Duc de Cell, qui m'en à fort souvent prié. Je croi que je serai cinq ou six semaines en mon voyage, et que peut être je pourrai voir Mr. l'Electeur de Brandebourg. Si je puis assister en leur négociation Mess. les Chevaliers Soutwell et Sylvius, vous pouvez être assuré que je n'y manquerai pas, mais je crains qu' aucun Prince en Almagne ne voudra se déclarer avant que vostre traité ne soit achevé avec l'Empereur. En fin, je ne negligerais rien qui dependra de moy pour servir la cause commune, et sur tout le Roi. A mon retour je vous ferai savoir ce qui se sera passé en mon voyage; cependant, je vous prie de me croire toujours entierement à vous."

Translation.

The Prince of Orange to Sir Leoline Jenkins.—Upon the approaching meeting of the third parliament of King Charles.

Honflaerdike, 13 Sept. 1680.

"**A**LTHOUGH we are glad here that the parliament will be so soon assembled, we are in an extreme apprehension for its success; if it is not such as we hope for, I do not see any resource for the affairs of Europe, which will be in a lamentable state. God grant that the King and his parliament may agree, without which all is lost. This will be the last I shall write you from this place, having an intention to set off on Monday next to see the Duke of Zell, who has often asked me. I believe I shall be five or six weeks in my journey, and perhaps I shall see the Elector of Brandenburg. If I can assist the Chevaliers Southwell and Sylvius, you may be assured I will not fail; but I
am

am afraid that no German Prince will incline to declare himself before our treaty is finished with the Emperor. In fine, I will neglect nothing that depends upon me to serve the common cause, and above all the King. At my return I will let you know what has passed in my journey ; in the mean time I beg you will believe me to be always your's."

Prince of Orange to Sir Leoline Jenkins.

A la Haye, 12 de Novembre, 1680.

JE suis de retour icy depuis hier au soir, et ce matin j'ai reçu deux de vos lettres à la fois du 26 et 29 v. s. du passé. Je vous remercie fort de ce que vous m'informés de ce qui passe au parlement, et vous prie d'y vouloir continuer. Je suis extrêmement marri d'apprendre que la session commence avec tant de chaleur et d'emportemens. Dieu veuille rendre les gens sages et modérés, car asseurement de l'assemblée présente du parlement depend le bien ou le mal de toute l'Europe. J'ai eu aujourd'hui tant d'affaires sur les bras, comme c'est le premier jour de mon arrivée, que la poste estant sur le point de parti, je ne vous puis dire d'avantage pour cette fois, si non que je suis toujours entierement à vous."

Translation.

The Prince of Orange to Sir Leoline Jenkins, upon the heats in the beginning of the third parliament.

Hague, 12th November, 1680.

I RETURNED here last night, and this morning I have received two of your letters at once of the 26th and 29th old stile. I thank you for letting me know what is passing in parliament, and beg you will still continue to do so. I am extremely sorry to learn that the session begins with so much heat and passion. May God make people wise and moderate: for

surely on this meeting of parliament depends the good or ill fortune of all Europe. I have so many things to do to-day, which is the first day of my arrival, and the post being just going, I cannot say any thing more now, than that I am always entirely your's"

Prince of Orange to Sir Leoline Jenkins.

A la Haye, ce 22 de Novembre, 1680.

"**J**E vous suis très obligé que vous continues à m'informer de ce qui se passe chez vous ; mais je suis bien marri d'apprendre avec quelle animosité l'on procède à la maison basse contre Mr. le Duc. Dieu le benisse, et fasse que le Roi et son parlement puisse s'accorder, sans quoi je prévoi infailliblement un danger evident pour sa Majesté, la maison royale, et la plus grande partie de l'Europe. Tous les affaires icy comme aussi par tout sont en surcois pour voir l'issue de cette grande session. La bonté divine la veuille faire déterminer à sa gloire, au bien et à la satisfaction du Roi, de sa maison royale, de la nation, et du bon parti dans l'Europe. Je suis et serai toujours sans reserve entièrement à vous."

Translation.

*The Prince of Orange to Sir Leoline Jenkins.—On the
beats of the exclusion.*

Hague, 22d Nov. 1680.

"**I** AM much obliged to you for continuing to inform me of what passes in England, but I am vexed to learn with what animosity they proceed against the Duke. God bless him, and grant that the King and his parliament may agree, without which I foresee infallibly an imminent danger for the King, the royal family, and the greatest part of Europe. All affairs here are, as every where else, in suspense to see the issue of this great session. May the Divine Goodness end it;
for

for his own glory, the good and satisfaction of the King, of his royal family, and of the good party in Europe. I am and always will be without reserve entirely your's.

The Prince of Orange to Sir Leoline Jenkins.

A la Haye, ce 10 Decembre, 1680.

“ VOUS savez comme j’ay toujours souhaité une bonne intelligence entre le Roi en son parlement, et que j’aurois souhaité d’avoir esté capable d’y avoir peu contribuer ; ain si vous jugerez facilement en quelle peine et chagrin je suis de voir qu’un si grand bien n’est pas encore selon mes souhaits. Il faut que je vous avoue aussi que j’a esté bien surpris d’apprendre, que l’on parle des mitigations de l’autorité royale, si la couronne venoit a eschoir sur un Roi Papiste. J’espere que sa Majesté ne voudra point souffrir que l’on fasse une chose qui est si prejudiciable à toute la famille royale ; et quoique l’on debite cela n’auroit lieu qu’a l’égard d’un Roi qui fût de cette religion, et sans consequence à ceux de la religion Protestante, il ne faut point s’imaginer si une fois l’on avoit des prerogatives à la couronne aussi considerables que ceux dont on parle, qu’ils y revie droit jamais. Ainsi je vous prie de représenter cecy en mon nom au Roi ; et supplier de ma part sa Majesté, qu’il ne veuille point consentir à une chose qui est si prejudiciable à tous ceux qui ont l’honneur d’estre de sa famille. C’est ce qui m’oblige en conscience de parler. Je suis et serai toujours à vous.

G. Prince d’Orange.

Je vous prie de me faire savoir la reponse que vous aurez eu.”

Translation.

The Prince of Orange to Sir Leoline Jenkins.—Against King Charles's offer of limitations upon a Popish successor.

Hague, December 10, 1680.

“**Y**OU know how I have always wished a good intelligence between the King and his parliament; and that I wished to have been able to contribute to it. You will therefore easily judge in what trouble and chagrin I am, to see that so great blessing is not as yet according to my desires. I must also own to you, that I was much surprized to learn of mitigations of the royal authority being spoken of in case the crown should fall to a Papist. I hope that his Majesty will not incline to suffer a thing to be done so prejudicial to all the royal family: and although they spread about that this will not take place except with regard to a King of that religion, and would be of no consequence to Kings of the Protestant religion, it must not be imagined, that if they had once taken away from the crown such considerable prerogatives as are talked of, that they would ever return again. Therefore I intreat you to represent this in my name to the King; and to beg of his Majesty on my part, that he will not consent to a thing so prejudicial to all those who have the honour to be of his family. This, as a matter of conscience, I am obliged to say. I am and will be always your's.

W. Prince of Orange.

I intreat you to let me know what answer you get.”

The Prince of Orange to Sir Leoline Jenkins.

A la Haye, ce 27 de Decembre, 1680.

LE vent contraire qu'il a fait depuis quelque temps est cause que je n'ay receu que hier la vostre du 17. Les assurances que vous me donnez de la part du Roi, que sa Majesté ne consentira point à des limitations dans l'autorité royale me console fort. Mais je crains seulement que par des voies indirectes l'on pourroit venir à une chose qui est si ruineuse à la Monarchie.

Pour toutes sortes d'expedients, excepté ceux là, j'aurois une joye très sensible, si l'on les pouvoit trouver pour reunir le Roi et son parlement. Vous savez l'interêt que toute l'Europe y a, et particulièrement moy. Dieu veuille que l'on les trouve bientost, et fasse terminer cette session heureusement en une bonne union, sans quoy nous sommes tous perdus. Si l'on continue à parler des limitations, je vous prie qu'aux occasions qu'il sera necessaire, de représenter au Roi de ma part, les assurances qu'il m'a données de ne pas vouloir consentir à une chose qui est si prejudiciable à toute la maison royale, et qui entraineroit après soi la ruine de la Monarchie. Je suis toujours entierement à vous.

G. Prince d'Orange."

Translation.

The Prince of Orange to Sir Leoline Jenkins.—The King has promised not to consent to the scheme of limitations.—The Prince hints he will agree to any other expedient.

Hague, December 27, 1680.

THE contrary wind for some days past prevented me from receiving till yesterday your's of the 17. The assurance which you give me on the King's part, that the King will not consent to the limitations

tations of the royal authority, comforts me much. But I am only afraid that by indirect means they may come at a thing so ruinous to Monarchy.

With regard to all sorts of expedients, except those, I should have a very sensible joy if they could be found out, to re-unite the King and his parliament. You know the interest which all Europe has in this matter, and particularly me. God grant that these expedients be soon found, and that this session may be happily ended in a good union, without which we are all lost. If limitations continue to be spoke of, I entreat you upon all necessary occasions, to represent on my part to the King, the assurances he gave me of his not consenting to a thing so prejudicial to all the royal family, and which would draw after it the ruin of the Monarchy.

I am always entirely your's,

W. Prince of Orange."

Prince of Orange to Sir Leoline Jenkins.

A la Haye, ce 28 de Janvier, 1681.

"**T**OUT le monde ici à esté fort surpris de la prorogation du parlement, quoyqu'ils peuvent bien comprendre que le Roi y a esté obligé en quelque maniere par leur procedes si vehemens : mais je ne vous puis assez exprimer la grande crainte en laquelle nous sommes d'une plus longue prorogation ou une dissolution ; quels en seront les effets dans le royaume, vous en pouvez mieux juger que moy ; nonobstant que d'ici nous avons sujet de craindre qu'elles seront très funestes pour les affaires de là Chrétieneté. Je les tiens entièrement perduës, et abandonnés à ceux qui ont intention de s'en rendre maistres ; et si l'on se persuade qu'en appellant un nouveau parlement ils ne seroient en les même sentiments, est une chose qui ne peut entrer en moy : et l'expérience du passé à fait voir asses clairement, qu' au lieu d'être plus moderes ils ont toujours voulu pouffer les choses plus loin. Je croi être obligé en conscience de vous ecrire si franchement mes senti-
mens,

mens, esperant que sa Majesté ne trouvera pas mauvais que je lui represente une chose d'ou, à mon avis, depend la conservation de toute là Chrétieneté, de sa personne, et ses royaumes. L'interest que l'estat et surtout moy y avons, n'est pas petit; ainsi qu'il n'est pas estrange que je suis dans une inquiétude extraordinaire de savoir comme le jour d'après demain se passera, qui est le temps que le parlement doit se rassembler, puisque c'est un jour qui pourroit contribuer à nous sauver ou à nous perdre entierement. Dieu aye pitié de tant de pauvres gens et benisse avec plus de prosperité les résolutions du Roi qu'il n'a fait jusques ici.

G. Prince d'Orange.

Je vous prie de représenter tout cecy à sa Majesté, et me faire reponse."

Translation.

Prince of Orange to Sir Leoline Jenkins.—Presses the parliament shall not be dissolved.

Hague, 28 January, 1681.

"**E**VERY body here was surprized with the prorogation of the parliament, though they can very well understand that the King was forced to it in some manner by their vehement proceedings. But I cannot sufficiently express to you the great fear we are in of a longer prorogation or a dissolution. What will be the effects of it in the kingdom you can judge better than me, although here we have reason to fear they will be very fatal to the affairs of Christendom. I hold these affairs to be entirely ruined, and abandoned to those who have any intention to make themselves master of them: and if people persuade themselves that when a new parliament is called it will not have the same sentiments, that is a thing which cannot enter into my mind; the experience of the past has shewn clearly enough,

enough, that instead of being more moderate they have always pushed things a greater length. I think myself obliged in conscience to write you my sentiments so frankly, hoping his Majesty will not take it ill that I represent to him a matter on which, in my opinion, depends the preservation of all Christendom, of his person, and of his kingdoms. The interest which the state, and above all I have in it, is not little, so that it is not strange that I am in an extraordinary uneasiness how the day after to-morrow will pass, which is the time when the parliament is to meet; seeing that is a day that may save or ruin us entirely. May God have pity on so many poor people, and bless the resolutions of the King with more prosperity than they have hitherto had.

W. Prince of Orange.

I entreat you to represent all this to the King, and to give me an answer."

Prince of Orange to Sir Leoline Jenkins.

A la Haye, ce 11 de Fev. 1681.

"SANS un voyage que j'ai fait à Amsterdam, je vous aurois répondu plustost aux lettres que vous m'avez escrit par ordre du Roi. Je ne vous diray point de quelle maniere, n'y avec quelle surprise l'on a reçu ici la nouvelle de la dissolution du parlement, puisque vous en ferez entierement informe avant ce temps, et que vous l'aurez peu jugé par mes precedentes. L'on est ici fort en doute si le parlement s'assemblera à Oxford au temps prescript; et si elle s'assemble l'on est entierement persuadé qu'ils seront de même sentimens, puisque se feront la plupart les mêmes personnes. La proposition que vous me mandez que sa Majesté leur faira, et qui ne me peut desplaire, j'advoue que je ne puis comprendre ce que cela pourroit être; et si vous me la pouvez faire savoir, vous obligerez beaucoup celui qui sera toujours à vous."

Translation.

Translation.

Prince of Orange to Sir Leoline Jenkins.——His vexation at the dissolution of Parliament.——Curious to hear a new proposal which the King is to make him.

Hague, 11th February, 1681.

IF I had not been upon a journey to Amsterdam, I would have sooner answered the letters which you wrote me by the King's orders. I will not tell you in what manner, nor with what surprise the news of the dissolution of the parliament was received here, since you will be fully informed of it before this time, and that you could judge of it by my former letters. People are much in doubt here if the parliament will meet at Oxford at the time fixed; and if it does meet, they are persuaded that it will have the same sentiments, since the members will be mostly the same men. With regard to the proposal which you intimate to me, and which cannot displease me, I confess that I cannot comprehend what it can be; and if you can make me know it, you will oblige him who will be always yours."

The proposal alluded to in this letter was to make the Princess of Orange regent during her father's life.

Barillon writes his court, on the 14th April, 1681, *In the Dept.* that this was a project of Lord Hallifax and Lord Arlington.

Insincerity and steadiness seldom go together. Charles, in the course of these struggles with parliament, stained his memory for ever by giving up to the vengeance of party the old and innocent Lord Stafford. It is a very false idea in political science, to permit a distinction between the Prince and the man in matters of feeling. The Duke of York, with all his faults, thought more justly than his brother on this subject.

In

In Lord Dartmouth's notes on bishop Burnet's history, there is the following passage.

Extract from Lord Dartmouth's notes on Bishop Burnet's history.

P. 492. The Duke, in one of his letters, says, " I was informed by Fielding of Lord Stafford's being condemned, which surprized me, though I knew the malice of some against him, and the government would make them press it to the utmost : And besides all other considerations am very sorry that his Majesty will be so hard put to it ; for I hope he will remember the continual trouble it was to the King his father, the having consented to the death of the Earl of Strafford, and not have such a burthen on his conscience ; and on the other hand, I know he will be hard prest to sign the warrant against this unfortunate Lord."

I was particularly anxious, in perusing the French dispatches, to discover the principles upon which Algernon Sidney could possibly reconcile to his own pride, his intrigues with France. From the following passage in one of Barillon's dispatches, it appears that Mr. Sidney's public objects in these intrigues were a republic, and the most unlimited toleration in religion.

Extrait de la lettre de Mr. Barillon au Roi, 30 Septembre, 1680.

In the *Depos.*

" I L y en a qui s'appliquent depuis quelque tems à me faire entendre, que c'est une vieille erreur de croire que l'intérêt de la France soit entièrement opposé à souffrir que l'Angleterre soit en république ; ils prétendent prouver par de bonnes raisons, et par l'exemple du passé, que la re-union de l'Angleterre sous un Roi Protestant, autorisé comme seroit le Prince d'Orange, est beaucoup moins conforme au véritable intérêt

intérest de la France que ne seroit une république, qui seroit plus occupée du commerce que d'aucune autre chose, et qui croiroit comme a fait Cromwel pouvoir plutôt profiter sur l'Espagne que sur la France. Ils ajoutent que l'intérest de l'Angleterre, en république, et celui de la Hollande, gouvernée comme elle est, peuvent difficilement s'accorder ensemble, au lieu que Mr. le Prince d'Orange peut réunir en sa personne la puissance des états généraux et de l'Angleterre : en fin on établit pour un fondement certain que la maison de Stuard, et celle d'Orange sont unies inseparablement, que leur interêt commun les engage à augmenter leur pouvoir en Angleterre et en Hollande, et que l'interêt de la France est de maintenir les libertés et les privileges des deux nations, et de travailler plutôt à la ruine de ceux qui les veulent opprimer : on croiroit même que la sureté de la religion Catholique pourroit s'établir en Angleterre, si l'on ne craignoit plus qu'un Prince Catholique fût en état de changer le gouvernement et les loix ; et on voit par l'exemple de la Hollande, combien la condition des Catholiques est meilleure qu'en Angleterre. Votre Majesté connoit mieux que personne ce qu'il y a de solide dans ces reflexions, et pourra me donner ses ordres pour me conduire dans les occasions qui se présenteront ; je me renfermerai presentement à ce qui me paroît de son service sans porter ma vue plus loin ; mais il ne me paroît pas inutile de fair envisager à votre Majesté jusqu'ou les affaires d'Angleterre peuvent se porter. Monsieur de Sidney est un de ceux qui me parlent le plus fortement et le plus ouvertement sur cette matiere."

Translation.

Translation.

Extract of Mr. Barillon's letter to Louis the XIVth, Sept. 30, 1680.——The principles on which Algernon Sidney acted. A Republick and unlimited toleration.

“**T**HERE are some who have applied themselves for some time to make me understand that it is an old error to believe that it is against the interest of France to suffer England to become a Republick ; they endeavour to prove by good reasons and the example of the past, that the re-union of England, under a Protestant King, authorized as the Prince of Orange would be, is much less conformable to the true interest of France than a Republick, which would be more occupied with trade than any other thing, and would believe, as Cromwell did, that it should gain rather at the expence of Spain than of France : they add, that the interest of England as a Republick, and that of Holland governed as it is, could not easily agree ; whereas the Prince of Orange can reunite in his person the power of the States General and of England together. In fine, they establish for a fundamental principle, that the house of Stuart and that of Orange are inseparably united ; that their common interest engages them to augment their power in England and in Holland, and that it is the interest of France to maintain the liberties and privileges of both nations, and to endeavour rather at the ruin of those who would oppress them : they even believe that the safety of the Catholick religion might be established in England, if people were not afraid that a Catholick Prince would be in a condition to change the government and laws ; and they observe by the example of Holland, how much the conditions of the Catholicks in Holland is better than in England. Your Majesty knows better than any body what solidity there is in these reflections, and can give me your orders for my conduct in the occasions which may present.

sent. I shall confine myself to what appears to me to be for your service at present, without carrying my views further; but it does not appear useless to shew your Majesty how far affairs may be carried in England. Mr. Sidney is one of those who talks to me with the most force and the most openness on this matter."

Although in the Ambassadors dispatches several accounts of money laid out by them in political services in England between the years 1677 and 1681 are mentioned, yet I found in the *Depot* only three of them.

The first is Monsieur Courtin's account, mentioned in page 156 of this part of the appendix, and is dated 15th May, 1677. The second is referred to in Barillon's letter of 14th December, 1679, page 313 above, and is of that date. The last is referred to in his letter of December 5th, 1680. Vide p. 344 above, and is of that date.

It has been seen above that the French money laid out in political purposes when Courtin was Ambassador, was distributed by Charles. For this reason Courtin's account of what was laid out by himself is very low, consisting only of the following articles.

			Guineas.
Lord Barker	-	-	1000
Chevalier Herbert	-	-	600
Chevalier Min	-	-	600
Doctor Carey	-	-	500
Coleman	-	-	300
Green	-	-	200
Denize	-	-	20

The person here called Lord Barker was Lord Berkshire, because in other parts of the dispatches he is said to have been of the Howard family, and a "grand haranguer" in parliament.

The next account runs as follows.

Etat de l'argent employé par Mr. de Barillon, Ambassadeur du Roi en Angleterre, depuis le 22 Decembre, 1678.

In the *Depot*.

“ **P**AR le mémoire que j'ai envoyé à la cour le 22 Decembre, 1678, il me restoit tant en lettre de change qu'en argent comptant la somme de 21915 livres, seize schelins, sept penins, qui font monnoye de France 292211 l.

Depuis le dit jour 22 Decembre jusqu'à ce jourd'hui 14 Decembre, 1679, j'ai donné savoir à Mr. le Duc de Bouquinkan 1000 guinées, qui font 1087 l. dix schelings sterlings.

A Mr. de Sidney 500 guinées, qui font 543 l. quinze schelings sterlings.

Pour maintenir le Sieur Bulstrode dans son emploi à Bruxelles 400 guinées, qui font 435 l. sterlings.

Au Sieur Beber 500 guinées, qui font 543 l. quinze schelins sterlings.

Au Sieur Littleton 500 guinées, qui font 543 l. quinze schelins sterlings.

Au Sieur Powle 500 guinées, qui font 543 l. quinze schelings sterlings.

Au Sieur Harbord 500 guinées, qui font 543 l. quinze schelins sterlings.

Total de la dépense que j'ai faite jusqu'à ce jourd'hui 14 Decembre, 1679, 4241 l. cinq schelins sterlings, qui font monnoye de France 56550 l.

Le 22 Decembre, 1678, il m'étoit resté 21915 l. seize schelings, sept penins sterlings, qui font monnoye de France 292211 l.

Depuis le dit jour 22 Decembre j'ai donné 4241 l. cinq schelins, qui font monnoye de France 56550 l.

Partant il ne me resté aujourd'hui 14 Decembre, 1679, que la somme de 17674 l. onze schelins, sept penins

penins sterlings, qui font monnoye de France 245661 l. de laquelle somme j'ai en argent comptant 2674 l. onze schelins, sept penins sterlings, qui font monnoye de France 35661 l. Le reste, qui est de 15 mille livres sterlings, ou de deux cents mille livres monnoye de France est en lettres de change qui n'ont point été entamées."

Translation.

State of the money employed by Mr. Barillon, Ambassador from Louis the XIVth in England, since the 22d December, 1678.

"**B**Y the memorial which I sent to court the 22d December, 1678, I had remaining in bills of exchange and ready money the sum of 21,915 l. 16 s. 7 d. sterling, which make in French money 292211 l.

Since the said 22d December to this day the 14th December, 1679, I have given, to wit, to the Duke of Buckingham 1000 guineas, which make 1087 l. ten shillings sterling.

To Mr. Sidney 500 guineas, which make 543 l. 15 s. sterling.

For the support of the Sieur Bulstrode in his employment at Brussels 400 guineas, which make 435 l. sterling.

To the Sieur Beber 500 guineas, which make 543 l. 15 s. sterling.

To the Sieur Lyttelton 500 guineas, which make 543 l. 15 s. sterling.

To the Sieur Powle 500 guineas, which make 543 l. 15 s. sterling.

To the Sieur Harbord 500 guineas, which make 543 l. 15 s. sterling.

Total of the expence made to this day 14th December, 1679, 4241 l. 5 s. sterling, which make in French money 56550 l.

The 22d December, 1678, I had remaining 21915 l. 16 s. 7 d. sterling, which make in French money 292211 l.

Since the said 22d December I have given 4241 l. 5 s. which make in French money 56550 l.

Thus I have remaining this 14th December, 1679, only the sum of 17674 l. 11 s. 7 d. sterling, which make in French money 245661 l. of which sum I have in ready money 2674 l. 11 s. 7 d. sterling, which make in French money 35661 l. The remainder, which is 15,000 l. sterling, or 200,000 livres French money, is in bills of exchange which have not been negotiated."

In the *Depot*.

The last account consists of the following articles.

	Guineas.
William Harbord. Barillon describes him thus : " Qui à beaucoup contribué à la ruine de Dambi."—" Who contributed greatly to the ruin of Lord Danby."	500
Mr. Hamden, - - -	500
Colonel Titus, - - -	500
Hermstrand : This must have been Sir Thomas Armstrong, because when Barillon gives afterwards an account of Armstrong's execution for the Rye-house plot, he calls him Chevalier Thomas Hermstrand, -	500
Bennet. Barillon describes him to have been formerly secretary to Prince Rupert, and now to Lord Shaftesbury, - -	300
Hodam. This must have been Hotham; for Barillon describes him, " Fil de Chevalier Hodam qui étoit gouverneur de Hull."—" Son of the Chevalier Hotham who was governor of Hull," - -	300
Hicdal, - - -	300
Garoway - - -	300
Francland, - - -	300
Compton, - - -	300
Harlic.	

Guineas.

Harlie.	This must have been Sir Edward Harley, because Barillon describes him, "Ci devant gouverneur de Dunquerque."	
	—"Formerly governor of Dunkirk,"	300
Sacheverel,	- - - -	300
Foley,	- - - -	300
Bide.	He describes him thus: "Fort riche et accredité."—"Very rich and in great credit,"	300
Algernoon Sidney,	- - - -	500
Herbert,	- - - -	500
Baber.	This must have been the famous Sir John Baber. Barillon describes him thus: "Qui n'est pas du parlement, mais qui a beaucoup des liaisons avec les membres de la chambre basse, et qui avoit fait ma liaison avec milord Hollis."—"Who is not in this parliament, but who has many connections in the lower house, and who formed my connection with Lord Hollis,"	500
Hil.	This was probably Sir Roger Hill. Barillon says he was formerly one of Cromwell's officers,	500
Boscawen,	- - - -	500
Du Crofs.	This was the de Crofs, envoy from the Duke of Holstein, mentioned by Sir William Temple,	150
Le Pin.	Barillon calls him one of Lord Sunderland's clerks,	150

The names of almost all the above persons are to be found in the Journals of the House of Commons, as active persons at that time.

Barillon could not possibly chuse a fitter person to intrigue with the dissenting interest than Sir John Baber; for Charles had formerly employed him in the

very same way. Mr. North in his *Examen*, p. 361, gives an account of this as follows.

“ Sir John Baber was a man of finesse, and in possession of the protectorship at court of the dissenting teachers, and after the pattern of the Cardinals, for nations at Rome.”

“ The King finding the Dissenters, instigated by their teachers, ever active in all ways of opposition to him and his interests, thought it the cheapest way to take it off (as they called it) those bull-wethers the teachers, and accordingly employed people to treat with them; and terms were adjusted that they should keep their party generally quiet, and that they might not oppose his Majesties affairs in parliament; and for that consideration, conventicles should be connived at, and good annual pensions paid to them; so the stipulation was made, and the pensions settled and duly paid. The plenipos, in this state negotiation, were Sir John Baber, one well known for a busy body in such tricking affairs; and some said Sir R. Buller, who was a famous tool of the Papists afterwards; but the former made no scruple to declare all this to his acquaintance, of whom I had the honour to be one: And he was a witness how honestly the King dealt on his part; paying the pensions as they became due.”

With regard to Dr. Owen, whom Barillon, in one of the above letters, calls the patriarch of the independents, see Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, p. 555 to 564. He died at Ealing, 1683, and seventy-seven coaches attended his funeral.

In Barillon's letters there are several relations of money sought by Buckingham and Mountagu, and sometimes given, but oftener refused to them. So far as I could discover in the papers at Versailles, Mountagu did not receive more than 50,000 of the 100,000 crowns promised him for ruining Lord Danby.

While

While the private treaty, which was afterwards frustrated, was going on in the year 1679, Barillon, in his letter of 21 September, 1679, proposed that presents should be given to the Dutchess of Portsmouth and Lord Sunderland; and in his letter of the 26th October, he proposes to give them a pension.

On the 30th November, 1679, Barillon writes that the Dutchess of Portsmouth and Lord Sunderland hinted that they expected gratifications from France.

On the 1st and 15th January, 1680; Louis XIVth, in his letters to Barillon, ordered him to offer 10,000 pistoles to Sunderland, and 5000 to the Dutchess of Portsmouth, with a promise of a renewal of these presents, if they would keep Charles in the interests of France.

Barillon writes on the 1st and 21st January, 1680, that the Dutchess of Portsmouth had said to him that Sunderland could not be secured to France without a great deal of money.

Barillon writes, on the 19th February, 1680: "M^{rs} Lord Sunderland et madame de Portsmouth ont fort bien reçu les offres des gratifications que je leur ai fait espérer." — "Lord Sunderland and the Dutchess of Portsmouth have received with a very good grace the offers of gratification which I made them hope for." Probably these offers did not take effect, because the treaty which they were intended to bring about broke off.

On the 21st April, Barillon writes that Lord St. Albans had expressed his expectation of receiving a present for the services he had done, in giving a beginning to the private treaty of the year 1681, and Barillon proposes

poses to give him 1000 or 1500 l. : And from Barillon's letter, of 2d May, 1681, it appears that he had received orders from Louis the XIVth to give him the diamond box, in value, 1500l. which had been formerly refused by Lord Hollis, who died before it could be again offered to him.

Several of the letters mention gratuities of a few hundred pounds, given at different times to Mountagu's sister, madame Harvey, and to a few others of Mountagu's friends.

In the Depot.

This profligacy extended itself. Barillon writes, on the 4th April, 1680, that Charles was on a project of making a protestant league with the Dutch and Swiss against France ; that Mr. Herbert (whose wife he says was cousin german to Lady Sunderland) was to go ambassador to conduct it in Swisserland ; but that Herbert had offered for 5000l. to serve the interests of France in his embassy.

Lord Keeper North, who was of opinion that the fiction of the popish plot did not arise from the accident of Tongue's and Oates's informations, but from a pre-concerted design, gives the following reasons in his manuscript for that opinion.

Extract from Lord Keeper North's manuscript memorandum.

“ 1st. The parliament was to meet the beginning of October, and the discovery was in the middle of August, time enough to blazon it abroad to irritate the minds of men, but not to do any thing for the trial.

2d. Dr. Tong (the first mover) would not have it exposed so much as to the council before the parliament

ment met, but said it was fitter for the parliament: and when it was objected that papists might kill the King in the meantime, he said, care should be taken, for that they should be watched so narrowly they should not be able to do it.

3d. There was but one witness before the parliament met, which is not sufficient in treasons, so the council could not order a trial, though they might commit, except in case of Coleman, whose letters were produced under his own hand.

4th. No lord or person of quality, but only inferior people and priests were named before the parliament met, that the court might not be startled, but might engage in the prosecution of those despicable people, for whom no man would have regret, but they might be bountifully thanked for it by the house of commons.

5th. To make the ministers of state less suspicious and more easy, they were courted, not only in the application of the discoverers, but in the discovery, *viz.* that the papists intended to kill the King, Duke of Ormond, &c. which made the earl of Danby not only give way to the prosecution of it, but to press the belief of it in all places and to all persons; and the Duke of York was not only acquitted of all design, but was to be killed himself if he did not comply.

In the month of September it (the plot) had its full course, and so much countenance at Whitehall, that a great many thought it a court stratagem to pretend fears and dangers to keep up the army that had been raised, and was by act of parliament to be disbanded before 26th August.

And within a little time, by the murder and exposing the body of Sir Ed. Bury Godfrey in the middle of October, the violence and rage of the people was grown to

to that height against the papists, that no reason could be heard, but every foolish story against them passed for Gospel; and when all force seemed bent against the papists, it was reported Sir Ed. Bury Godfrey was seen last at Somerset-House, and by others at Arundale-House (the Duke of Norfolk's); it was also whispered that he was seen at the Cockpit (the earl of Danby's) and threatened by the earl of Danby.

It was cunningly done to spread these reports, that it might be known what these persons could say in defence of themselves, and that they might be ready (especially the Cockpit and Arundale-House) to toss the fire from one to the other. It was wondered at that the Lord Treasurer was so soon glanced at, who had been so earnest to follow the discovery. But afterwards he was found to be forward in it to carry it to the parliament for fear he should be struck at directly, and it should find belief. It is certain the Church of England men joined in this cry as heartily as any else, for they were always most eager against popery, although they had friendship with the Cavalier Papists, and many considering men seeing an army kept up against an act of parliament, were really zealous that fetters might be put upon the King, and therefore would join in shewing any discontent.

By this means the outcry was so very great, that the court, who thought before they might play with the plot, now saw plainly it would be no easy matter to get rid of it, and therefore it was thought the best way to shew a confidence in this loyal house of commons, who would be sure to take notice of it themselves; and therefore the King mentioned it in his speech at the opening of the session of parliament as a plot of the Jesuits, but with that caution that he would leave it to law, and give no opinion of it for fear of saying too little or too much.

And

And therefore it was an unpardonable folly to give force to a design that was formed and conducted by the opposite party, as this must be concluded to be."

Lord Keeper North in his manuscript gives the following descriptions of the ferments in the nation during the time of the popish plot and the exclusion bill.

Extract First.

"They let none know the bottom of the accusation; for then no further use can be made of it; but they let the people press to have it searched to the bottom; and then they can manage and improve it as they please, and bring whom they will into the snare; and at first the discovery must not be made to the ministers of state, but to some justice of the peace, mayor of a great city, as London, Bristol, &c. or committees of parliament for the better noise, and that it may not be suppressed, and they take care to have some forensical sciolist, a lawyer, who shall manage and direct the accusations, so as they may be skilful and agree with the rules of law."

Extract Second.

"Godfrey's murder they shall contrive as a stratagem of mischief: so that if there be two or three adverse parties, they may all be thought guilty. Then will they to avoid the odium, quarrel, and lay it upon one another; and laying it upon which the faction pleaseth, they shall have the help of the rest."

Extract

Extract Third.

“ They took advantage of Popery by a good law to exclude the Popish Lords out of parliament, and by working upon some great families to come into the Church of England, as Norfolk’s heir, Shrewsbury, Cardigan’s heir, Lumley, &c.”

Extract Fourth.

“ And the anti-court party was very great even in the court itself: and all trimmers then were called the party volant in the house of commons, and now declared and voted against the court in all things; and no wonder; for the King’s affairs were looked upon at home as very declining, and most men thought if there should break out any troubles, it might endanger the monarchy; and men are willing to be safe at least, if they could not find their account in a change.”

Extract Fifth.

“ The most loyal pretence that ever was thought of was that of the King’s safety: Who could be sure of that but such as had him in possession? which directly tends to his destruction.”

Extract Sixth.

“ The republicans applied themselves to all methods of sedition, and were so open in it that they had public councils for carrying it on, as the King’s Head club in Fleet-street was, (though I doubt not but they had cabals of a more dark and dangerous nature) and many coffee-houses both in the city and country where they vented news and libels, and proceeded with that success, that in 24 hours they could entirely possess the city

city with what reports they pleased, and in less than a week spread it over the kingdom.

They could give out that any man who was averse to them was a papist : and when the King did any thing pleasing to the people, they would discredit it before it could be known ; and could put what colour they pleased upon foreign affairs, which they did by the help of foreign ministers. They had correspondents in all parts of the kingdom of the most active and greatest credit, so that when any members of parliament were to be chosen, they could disgrace every loyal person, and recommend whom they pleased ; and they were most industrious in parliament time, when by having divers members in their councils, and those who were not members being always near the bars possessing the world with news they had fitted for the time, and arguing the questions that were in debate in the house, and taking care that all the members should be minded to repair to their seats before the question should be put.

By these means they influenced elections not only in the country, but upon disputes in the house. And they came to that boldness, that when this parliament could not be prevailed upon to pass an act of comprehension, or to undermine the crown, they possessed the people that it was time to dissolve them, that the minds of the people were changed since their choice, and that they were a grievance ; and were about to have grand juries to represent it to the judges at the assizes ; but that was not ventured for fear when the parliament sat it should be punished. But upon a prorogation of more than a twelvemonth, they attempted to have the parliament declare themselves dissolved ; but the members would not drive that nail into their own flesh, which set the game a little back.

I thought

I thought it wonderful that when these things were visible, the house should suffer such a combination of men to sit openly, who made it their business not only to traduce the King's government but even their actions : and I concluded that when they were so negligent of their own frontiers, and did not preserve their credit by destroying these enemies of it, they could not be long lasting, and so it happened. For they (that is the major part of them) joined in thwarting the King in every thing he designed, and in laying obloquies upon his government to that degree that it was not to be borne ; and at last procured their dissolution to their great surprize, who thought the King would never have made so bold a step, and to the great joy of the King's Head club, who fell to work with all diligence to model the next house of commons by their correspondencies in the country."

Extract Seventh.

" That incredible fictions should ever pass in courts of justice, without the courts making just observations upon them, was extraordinary : but care was taken to terrify the judges with shouts and acclamations on the one part, and hissing on the other, by which they were to be persuaded, not only of the sense of the people, but of their violent desires, whereby they might imagine dangers to themselves if they should appear to check the stream."

Extract Eighth.

" Tradesmen, if such are not considerable, they are not worth notice ; but if one be he who hath great power by the many that live under him, and having grown in riches by outwitting other men, and arrived at the government of the place, as mayor, alderman, &c. the faction may easily persuade him that the world

is best governed that way, which makes him a common-wealths-man : when they have their ends, and raised a force, they may fright him into any thing ; for know that he is the most insolent fool and cowardly knave that is in nature."

I understand that Lord Shaftesbury's family complain of me for injuring the memory of their ancestor, and particularly for founding upon an account of his death in the paper office, written by one Massal, who they say was a person of a worthless character ; and for alledging that he died in the arms of Ferguson.

Upon hearing this, I enquired at the paper office if there were any papers in it relating to Massal. It is a piece of justice to this noble family to say, that if I had known Massal's character to have been so bad as I now find it to have been, I certainly should not have given credit to any thing said by him.

With regard to the fact of Lord Shaftesbury's dying in Ferguson's arms, it is a common tradition among Ferguson's relations in Scotland ; and " The Life of Lord Shaftesbury," contained in the Lives printed for Took, 1704, Vol. II. p. 253, contains these words : " The gout seized him, which flying upwards to his stomach soon became mortal, and on the 22d of January he expired in the arms of his chaplain, in the 62d year of his age."

It has been a misfortune to Lord Shaftesbury's memory, that every thing has been written against him and nothing for him ; upon which account I am happy to hear that his family have thoughts of endeavouring to vindicate his memory in public. Far from the intention to injure it, I flatter myself that the papers published in this Appendix will set his character in several respects in a new light to the world : They will
show

show that he had no hand in the Dutcheſs of Orleans's treaty made at Dover for the intereſts of Popery; that Charles firſt broke the ties of honour with him, by deceiving and betraying him into the ſecond treaty with France, in the year 1671, while he concealed from him the firſt, which had been made in the year 1670; and that Shaftesbury took no money from France, at a time when moſt of his friends of the popular party were doing it. If his Lordſhip's family in their publication ſhall ſatisfy me that I have injured him in any other reſpect, I will own it as freely as I have done my miſtake about Maſſal.

A P P E N D I X

T O

Sir John Dalrymple's Memoirs

O F

GREAT-BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

PART THE FIRST.

THE END

THE END

THE END

THE END

A P P E N D I X.

UPON the dissolution of King Charles's last parliament, and his appeal to the people, which were considered as total breaches between him and parliaments, the Prince of Orange came over to England ; but he previously sent Mr. Sidney to ask the advice of Sir William Temple and Mr. Godolphin about his coming. The answers are in King William's box.

Sir William Temple to the Prince of Orange.—In answer to the Prince's asking his advice about a visit to King Charles.

Sheen, June 28, 1681.

I Did not think to have met with any thing likely to engage me in any further public thoughts for the rest of my life, after my last return to my own domestick here, nor could any thing else have done it for so much as an hour, but an absolute command Mr. Sidney brought me from your Highness upon his arrival here. He tells me some few days before he came away, you fell into some thoughts whether a journey at this time to our court might contribute any thing towards the redress of that ill posture wherein the public affairs of Christendom seem to be at present, and which your Highness apprehends will soon grow more desperate ; and whether it may not be necessary to prevent the effects of some ill offices which you think have lately been done between his Majesty and your Highness ; and that upon this point you are pleased to desire my opinion, and that I will write it to you myself. I must tell your Highness in the first place, that since I came down hi-

ther about the time I left the council, which is near six months ago, I have never been once at court, and but once in town, upon a domestick occasion, and that my conversation here has gone no further than my own house, or some few common visits of the neighbourhood, by which your Highness will easily guess how ill I can judge of a matter that depends upon the disposition of a court, which has been apt to many changes in a shorter time than I have been absent from it, though perhaps they may be deceived who in that very point shall take a measure of what is to come by what is past. Besides, whatever opinion I shall be of, I cannot at this distance give your Highness my reasons for it, which must make it look very lame, perhaps, how well soever it may be grounded. Yet after this, and much more which might serve to excuse me, since Mr. Sidney says you will absolutely have my opinion upon it, I will tell your Highness freely, I am not apt to believe you will find at this time what you may propose to yourself by a journey into England, nor that any discourses between his Majesty and your Highness are likely to end in any mutual satisfaction or agreement upon the present state of public affairs. And those considerations will, I doubt, have an influence upon personal dispositions between you. So that all I think can be proposed from your meeting is, to know more certainly what you are to expect or trust to from one another, in the course of future events and revolutions.

If your Highness thinks the knowledge of this, or a trial of the other, be worth your journey, you may I think make some judgment of the success by resolving to make it a thing of personal confidence between his Majesty and your Highness only. You may write to him in a private letter, how sensible you are of several ill offices that you believe have been done towards his Majesty; how desirous you are to justify yourself, and preserve his kindness and good opinion; and that you can think of no way towards it, without seeing him, and having at least some few hours discourse in private with him. That though you can be ill spared in Holland, and have
but

but little time, yet you will not fail to attend him, if he gives you leave, though it be but for an hour; but in case he does, you will owe it wholly to his kindness, and beg it may be without communicating it to any person about him: That to this end you have ordered Mr. Sidney to deliver him your letter privately, and to beg his answer upon it: That in case he approve it, he may please to dispatch Mr. Sidney over in a yacht, as if it were upon the affair of the troops, and you will come away immediately in it, and hope it may be for his Majesty's satisfaction as well as your own.

I confess I am of opinion that if it be done or attempted at this time, it should be this way and no other. And whether it succeed or no, that your Highness may in a great measure judge from his Majesty's answer, what issue you were to have expected from it. From this place your Highness can expect nothing else besides this bare discharge of your commands, and the constant wishes and prayers for your safety and health, and the encrease of your honour and your family, wherein no man can be concerned, with a more hearty devotion and truth, than your Highness's most obedient, and most faithful humble servant.

Lord Godolphin to the Prince of Orange—upon the same subject.

London, June 28, 1681.

MR. Sidney has told me that your Highness does me still the honour to preserve me in your good opinion, and are so just as to believe me as full of zeal for your service, and as much devoted to your interests, as truly and sincerely from my heart I am, and I hope always shall continue to be; but I am not very good at compliments and great expressions; and if I am not deceived your Highness cares as little to be troubled with them; Mr. Sidney has told me farther that your Highness had spoken to him of a thought you have lately had, that it might be of good use for you to come over

into England at this time, and had given him leave to acquaint me with it and to know my opinion of it : I confefs I was very well pleased to hear him say it was your Highness's own thought, and that you seem'd to have an inclination to it ; for my part I have wish'd for it a great while, and I think it more necessary now than ever, for I am satisfied there is nothing that can so infallibly restore that good understanding between the king and your Highness which is so necessary for you both, and which every day (to my great trouble) I see more and more likely to decline, and I am afraid will be quite lost at last, if your Highness will not please to make use of all your prudence, and all your temper, (and perhaps some of your address too) to prevent this misfortune. Thus far Mr. Sidney and I were of a mind. We agreed that it must needs be well for your Highness to come over at this time, but we differed a little upon the pretext you were to take for it ; he seem'd to think it would be best for your Highness to ask the King's leave that you might come over to wait upon him, as a visit of compliment only, without pretending any business at all, which at another time might perhaps be the best way : but at this time, considering how things stand between the King and your Highness, the difficulties that have risen about Mr. Skelton's going into Holland, and Mr. Sidney's commanding the troops there, I was of opinion that it would look a great deal better, and I thought be more agreeable to your inclinations, to speak out plainly upon this occasion, and to write to the King that you found yourself so much troubled and concerned for the dissatisfaction which his Majesty seem'd to have at your proceedings in the business of Mr. Skelton, and so apprehensive lest any other occasion might happen to encrease it, that you could have no satisfaction in your own mind till you had begged his Majesty's leave to come and wait upon him, and endeavour to set yourself right in his good opinion ; and if your Highness will please to add to this, such assurances of your zeal for the king's service and his greatness as you shall think fit :

fit : of your desire to be acquainted with the measures he proposes to take, that you might be able to assist him in them as far as lies in your power ; and of your desire likewise to establish a good correspondence with those whom the King is pleased to trust and employ in his business ; upon these advances to the King I am persuaded your Highness might come over hither with great advantage ; and the countenance and the kindness which the King will shew you, finding you in this temper, joined to the love and esteem and the natural inclination which people have for you here, would presently give your Highness such an influence upon every body (even the ministers themselves) that you would be able to give what turn you pleased to most of our affairs here that are of the greatest importance : at least this is my opinion of the matter, which if I have given too bluntly or imperfectly to your Highness, I do most humbly beg your pardon for it. I should not have presumed to do it at all, but that Mr. Sidney made me understand it was your Highness's express pleasure and command, which shall always be most readily obeyed by me with the greatest respect and duty imaginable.

This visit gave an alarm to the Duke of York in Scotland, who suspected it might have created a reconciliation between the King and the Prince of Orange at his expence. In the *Depot*, at Versailles, there is the following letter from him to Monsieur Barillon on this subject.

*Lettre du Duc d'York à M. Barillon.—Sans date, 1681—
recue le 26 Juillet, avec la dépêche de M. Barillon.*

VOUS croiez aisément que j'ai appris avec beaucoup de satisfaction que les affaires se sont si heureusement conclues entre le deux Rois ; j'espère qu'il ny aura plus à l'avenir aucune misintelligence entre eux. On peut s'assurer, que je ferai toujours mon devoir pour empêcher

In the *Depot*.

cher que cela n'arrive, et que ceux qui seront amis des deux ou les miens seront de même avis.

J'ai été fort surpris d'apprendre que le Prince d'Orange étoit sur le point de partir pour Londres; je n'en ai rien sçu que par la dernière poste, par laquelle j'ai reçu une lettre du Roy d'Angleterre, qui m'ordonne de ne prendre aucun ombrage de ce voyage, parceque le Prince d'Orange ne l'obligera pas à changer les mesures qu'il a prises. Je lui ai écrit de nouveau sur ce sujet, comme je l'ai cru convenable pour mes intérêts en la manière que vous le pouvez désirer: j'ai averti aussi mes amis d'être alerte; ainsi j'espère que ce voyage ne nous causera aucun prejudice. Soyez persuadé que je ferai toujours mon devoir pour le service de votre maître.

Translation.

Letter from the Duke of York to Mr. Barillon, without date, 1681; received 26 July with Mr. Barillon's dispatches. — His joy at the late secret treaty. — His uneasiness on account of the Prince of Orange's coming to England.

YOU will easily believe it was with a great deal of satisfaction I learnt that affairs are so happily concluded between the two Kings; I hope there will be no misunderstanding for the future. You may be assured, I shall always think it my duty to prevent its happening; and that their friends and mine will be of the same opinion.

I was much surprised to learn that the Prince of Orange was upon the eve of his departure for London; I knew nothing of it, till by the last post I received a letter from the King of England, which orders me not to take any umbrage at this journey, because the Prince of Orange shall not oblige him to change the measures he has taken. I have wrote to him afresh on this subject, as I thought convenient for my interest, and in the manner you could wish: I have also advised my friends to be alert; so I hope this journey will not occasion any prejudice to us. Be persuaded that I will always do my duty for your master's service.

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The French court were equally uneasy at this journey.

July 21, 1681, Barillon writes that Charles had made an apology to him for consenting to the Prince of Orange's visit, adding that the French court should see it would make no difference upon the measures he had taken. In the *Depot*.

On July 24, Barillon writes, that having expressed his fears to the King about this visit, Charles, among other things said, ' Je vous prie d'être mon garant auprès du Roy mon frere, et de repondre pour moi, que je n' entreray en rien qui puisse lui déplaire; 'presupposé toujours qu'il ne veut pas attaquer le Pays-bas; vous sçavez que c' est le fondement de notre alliance.'—' I entreat you to be my pledge with the King my brother, and to answer for me that I will not enter into any thing which can displease him; it being always understood, that he is not to attack the Low countries; you know that that is the foundation of our union.' In the *Depot*.

Barillon writes August 11, 1681, that the Prince of Orange had pressed the King for a parliament, and that the King and he were on bad terms. In the *Depot*.

August 25, 1681, he writes that the Prince of Orange was often locked up with Lord Russel and Sir William Jones, that he was much in publick, and was become very popular by his journey. In the *Depot*.

September 25, 1681, he writes, that the Duchess of Portsmouth told him, that the Prince of Orange, whilst in England, had pressed her to help on the exclusion. In the *Depot*.

October 1, 1681, he writes, that the Prince of Orange, whilst in England, had in vain solicited the King for an union of England and Holland against France. In the *Depot*.

November

November 19, there is in the *Depot*, a letter from the Duke of York from Scotland to Barillon, entreating him to prevent the King from calling a parliament.

The Prince of Orange's visit could not fail to be unsuccessful, not only on account of Charles's connections with France, but on account of private piques between the King and the Prince. The following letter from Mr. Sidney (afterwards Lord Romney) to the Prince will best explain these.

Letter from Mr. Sidney (afterwards Lord Romney) to the Prince of Orange.—State of King Charles's court.—Piques between the King and Prince.

London, June 28, 1681.

I Writ to your Highness by the last post, but had so little time to do it in, that I doubt I gave you but an imperfect account of our affairs; I shall now say something more to your Highness, and will begin with what concerns yourself. It is very plain, that you have had very ill offices done you to the King; they make him believe that your Highness is of the party that is most against him; that you have a constant correspondence with those (they call) his enemies; that you drive a contrary interest; in short, I believe there are some in the cabinet council that are desirous enough to see a breach between the King and your Highness. I told my Lord Halifax and my Lord Hyde, in plain terms, that I was of that opinion; they answered, that they could not imagine there was such a villain and such a fool too amongst them, for it would not only destroy this nation and all the royal family, but all Europe. I am apt to believe that these two Lords are not so inclined, but that they would be glad to see a good understanding between the King and your Highness, especially my Lord Halifax; who a Saturday morning did to me make great professions of his being entirely in your interest, and said, you were the

the only foundation one could build upon : that what he had done last winter was to carry on your interest, and for his part he would never think of any other. I told him I was very glad to hear him say so, for that I was sure he could do your highness considerable service if he would; upon which he solemnly promised he would do his best. I then informed him how matters had passed between your Highness and this court within these six months, and left him to judge whether you had reason to be satisfied or no, especially in their last proceedings about Mr. Skelton: he said, as to that matter, all was resolved of before he came to town. I answered, all was not yet concluded, and if he had any respect for you, he would do well to shew it ; he answered me, he would try what could be done.—He and my Lord Hide do both complain of your letters being too high and too sharp, and say that if you had writ in a more gentle stile, it would have had a better effect with the King. I told them that I thought your Highness was not much to be wondered at, for taking that business of Mr. Skelton's and several others, something to heart, and if they would speak sincerely, I was sure they would be of my mind. These Lords say, that I am very likely to contribute a great deal towards a breach between the King and the Prince : I told them I had rather be hanged. Their reason is, that the King is resolved never to give his consent to my having the command of the troops ; that if your Highness and I did persist in it, his Majesty would take it ill of your Highness, and never be kind or reconciled to me. As to the first, I told him, the King could not be so unjust as to be angry with your Highness for giving me an employment, when you thought I was in his favour, and being you had given it me, you could not well take it away without my doing something to deserve it, which as yet your Highness was ignorant of. As to myself, I had little reason to expect much kindness from the King, being changed as he was in nine months time, without having any reason for it ; that in September last, his majesty told me he had rather have me at the head of the troops than any man in England ; and

many

many other things he promised towards the advancement of my fortune, which he hath not observed, but hath done much the contrary, and nobody hath yet told me how I have deserved it: I added, that I had spent a great deal of money and time in his service; had ventured my life as often as most people had done for him, and now was very ill requited; therefore I hoped his Majesty would not be displeased at my keeping an employment that was an honour to me, and would be a subsistence, being he did not think of doing any thing for me himself. This and a great deal more I told them I would say to the King, when he would do me the honour to speak with me, which he hath not done yet, and I imagine he stays till he hath an answer of his last letter to your Highness, for they think that will prevail much upon you. I shall be guided and governed in this and in every thing by your Highness, as long as I am upon earth, therefore pray let me have your commands. The King and his ministers seem to be very kind to me, I doubt it is not real; but they hope by fair words to persuade me to lay myself and all that I have at the King's feet, which I confess I have no mind to do. I hope your Highness kindness to me will never be prejudicial to you, for that would be an eternal affliction to me; hitherto I know it hath not, for though the King and his ministers are a little angry for the present, yet I can assure you it hath done you no harm in the nation, but a good deal the contrary; and the King's sending Mr. Skelton, and your opposing him, hath done the King more hurt, and your Highness more good, than any thing that happened these twelve months.

I will now make your Highness a short description of our court, and of the persons in it. Mr. Godolphin, Mr. May, and two or three more, are still very honest, but have little power with the King; the others are great rogues, and betray their master every day: they make him believe by their addresses that his affairs in the kingdom are in a very good posture; which is all wrong, for now I understand them, I find they signify
nothing,

nothing, and they grow every day more and more ridiculous; nobody hath any credit but the Duke's creatures, and they study what is good for the Duke and themselves, but do not consider what is good for the King or the nation, and the affairs abroad never enter into their heads. My Lord Halifax is highly incensed against the House of Commons, and must stick to the court (for he hath not a friend any where else) and therefore he is obliged to comply sometimes against his inclination; my Lord Hyde is for what the Duke would have, right or wrong. Mr. Seymour is very violent, despairs of being well with the King, if he be well with his people; and therefore does endeavour every day by his counsels, to make the breach irreconcilable, and I do verily believe he does all he can to make the King and your Highness fall out. All these things I have talked over with Sir William Temple and Mr. Godolphin, who I am confident are as much yours as ever, and by their letters you will find they are of opinion that your coming over will be of great advantage to you;—they differ something in the manner, but we all agree that there being a misunderstanding between the King and your Highness, and it being likely to grow worse and worse, your presence will be necessary to set all things right, which may do great good, and we do not see which way it can do you any harm; we all think that the ministers would not be glad of it, and therefore it will be requisite that this business passes only between your Highness and the King. My Lord Halifax I believe would not oppose it, because he said the other day that he thought your coming over might be of use. I took no notice of it, and it quickly pass'd over; it may be he will never think more of it; but by what he said you may easily suppose that he would not be against it if it should be proposed to him. I delivered a compliment from your Highness to the Dutchess of Portsmouth, which she took extreamly well, but it will do you little good, for she hath no more credit with the King, and these ministers

sters are persuading the King to send her away, and think by it to reconcile themselves to the people. My Lord Feversham hath more of the King's personal kindness than any body, Mr. Legge hath a great deal ; but which is most extraordinary is the favour the Queen is in. It was all about the town that the King would not see me, and was resolved to break the troops if I had the command of them. Mr. Seymour says, By God the King must break them, and the Prince of Orange must not gain his point ; my Lord Hide says no such thing, for he knows the King cannot do it, but he endeavours still to persuade me to submit to the King ; tells me I shall have great matters done for me ; that it will be unpleasant to me to have this command against the King's consent, and what is most to be considered, it will be prejudicial to your Highness. I cannot make any certain judgment of this affair till the King hath spoke to me, which I think he does not know how to do ; I have been perpetually at his elbow expecting what he would say, but he cannot bring it out ; I fancy it goes against his nature to say he was very kind to me last year, but hath changed his mind, he does not know why.

The Duke of Albemarle makes sure of having the command, and hath already told Sir Harry Bellasis that he would give the first regiment that fell to his lieutenant colonel. He intends to new model the troops with the help of Mr. Skelton. This is the longest letter I ever writ in my whole life, and I doubt I have quite tired you ; but you know it is out of my zeal for your service, which I have more at heart than any man living, and will have so, as long as I am capable of serving you.

I send your Highness a copy of a petition to my Lord Mayor, which passed yesterday in the Common Hall, where there was 5000 men, and very few went about to oppose it.

One of the views of the Prince of Orange's journey was to bring the King to join in an association with the Dutch, the Emperor, Spain, and many German Princes, to stop the farther encroachments of France. After the Prince was gone, Vanbeuningen the Dutch, and Ronquillo the Spanish ambassadors renewed the proposal to King Charles. Barillon writes, Nov. 13, 1681, that Charles was to concert with him the answer he should give them. In the *Dépot*.

The following dispatch will show what that answer was, as well as the crooked ways of Charles's politicks.

Extrait d'une lettre de M. Barillon au Roy.

Novembre 15, 1681.

J'AI eu une longue conference avec milord Heyde sur les termes aux quels la reponse de sa Majesté Britannique à Vanbuning doit être concüe : il m'a dit, que quoique le Roy d'Angleterre n'entrat point présentement dans la ligue, il ne pouvoit s'empêcher de s'expliquer comme s'il eu avoit le dessein à l'avenir. Pour cela il se croit obligé de répondre que quand l'empereur, le Roy de Dannemark, et les principaux Princes de l'Empire seront entreés dans la ligue d'Association, il sera prêt aussi d'y entrer de sa part. J'ai insisté qu'au lieu des principaux princes de l'empire, on mit, que quand l'Empereur et l'Empire conjointement auroient entré dans la ligue, le Roy d'Angleterre seroit aussi disposé à faire la même chose. In the *Dépot*.

Milord Heyde m'a répondu que l'intention du Roy son maitre étant toujours la même à l'égard de votre Majesté, et ne voulant en aucune façon entrer dans la ligue, ni assembler son parlement comme le demandoit Vanbeuning, il la fallu choisir des termes qui ne fissent pas connoître clairement l'éloignement ou il est d'écouter de telles propositions, et que ce qu'il dit le laisse en liberté de faire ce qu'il voudra.

Translation.

Translation.

*Extract of a letter from Mr. Barillon to Louis the XVth.
—Charles's deceiving answer to a proposal for an association to stop the further encroachments of France.*

November 15, 1681.

I Have had a long conference with my Lord Hyde upon the terms in which his Britannic Majesty's answer to Vanbeuning should be conceived. He told me, that though the King of England did not enter into the league, he could not avoid explaining himself as if he intended it hereafter; and for this reason he thought himself obliged to answer, that when the Emperor, the King of Denmark, and the principal Princes of the Empire shall have entered into the league of association, he will be ready also on his part to enter into it. I insisted that instead of the principal Princes of the Empire, they should substitute that when the Emperor and Empire jointly shall have entered into the league, the King of England would be also disposed to do the same thing.

My Lord Hyde answered, that the King his master's intention being always the same with regard to your Majesty, and he not willing in any manner to enter into the league, nor to assemble his parliament as Vanbeuning desired, it was necessary to make choice of terms which did not clearly shew how far he was from listening to such proposals, and that what he said left him at liberty to act as he pleased.

In the *Depos.* In the above letter of the 13th of November, 1681, Barillon writes that Charles had avowed to him, that he had promised to Spain to call a parliament, and give them assistance, but that he intended neither.

In the *Depos.* And in another letter of the 22d of December, 1681, Barillon says, that Charles in talking of his promise to the Spaniards to call a parliament, used these words:

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‘ Je n’ai aucune intention d’assembler le parlement ;
 ‘ ces sont des diables qui veulent ma ruine.’ ‘ I have no
 ‘ intention to call a parliament ; these are devils who
 ‘ intend my ruin.’

During the summer of the year 1681, the French were making continual encroachments on the side of Germany and Flanders. It appears from Barillon’s dispatches, that during these, the King and Lord Hyde, who alone knew of the late money treaty, were in the most cruel distress between the Spaniards pressing for the help to which they were entitled by their treaty with Charles, and France threatening that if it was given, she would withdraw her subsidy promised by the late verbal treaty. The dispatches are full of Charles’s strong, but fruitless remonstrances of the engagement of the French court in the late verbal treaty, that the Low countries should not be touched, and of the disgrace and unpopularity at home, both with his ministers and people, which he said he knew he was drawing upon himself by his inactivity.

The extreme meanness to which he was reduced, may be seen in the following dispatch concerning Luxemburgh, the key to Germany and the Netherlands, which the French resolved to add to their other usurpations, and to give a new bribe to procure Charles’s consent.

Extrait d’une lettre de M. Barillon au Roy.

Novembre 17, 1681.

JE recus avant hier, fort tard, la dépêche de votre Majesté du 12 Novembre ; elle contient des éclaircissemens qui étoient fort nécessaires pour regler ma conduite icy. Je ne saurois encore répondre du succès de la négociation dont votre Majesté m’a chargé, mais je ne suis pas surpris de trouver des difficultés que j’ai du attendre, vû l’état au quelles affaires étoient reduites

In the *Dép.*

icy avant hier. J'écrivis ce jour là une lettre dont le courier que j'envoye fera chargé, et qui pourroit servir à fair voir à votre Majesté qu'elle est la situation présente de la cour, et des affaires d'Angleterre.

Il me paroît que pour executer les derniers ordres de votre Majesté, ce que j'ai à faire principalement est d'engager le Roy d'Angleterre à ne point traverser le dessein que votre Majesté a d'avoir Luxembourg pour l'équivalent de toutes ses pretentions sur les Pays-bas. Je n'ai obmis aucune des raisons qui fondent la justice de ce que votre Majesté prétend, non plus que celles qui rendent l'acquisition de Luxembourg nécessaire à la conservation de votre royaume. Je me suis étendu sur le peu de jalousie que devoit donner à l'Angleterre, et aux Etats Généraux, cette place située comme celle est.

Je parlai hier à milord Heyde; j'ai crue que le tems ne permettoit pas de laisser languir la négociation, et que je devois faire envisager à ce ministre les avantages que le Roy d'Angleterre tireroit de votre Majesté en favorisant sa prétention: je lui ai dit aussi, qu'il auroit entre les mains le repos des Pays-bas, et que votre Majesté le rendroit l'arbitre du traité qui se feroit pour cela; j'ai montre les inconveniens qu'il y auroit de s'opposer aux desseins de votre Majesté, dont l'exécution seroit difficile à empêcher; en fin, j'ai fait voir tous les inconveniens d'un parlement et d'une guerre, et en même tems la sûreté et l'utilité d'une liaison avec votre Majesté. Je ne me suis pas encore expliqué nettement de la somme que j'ai pouvoir d'offrir: il me parut que c'étoit assez faire d'engager la négociation, et de faire entrer, si je puis, le Roy d'Angleterre dans un concert secret avec moi sur l'affaire de Luxembourg. Je ne laisserai pas échaper l'occasion de conclure quand elle se présentera; j'en connois bien la conséquence. Milord Heyde m'a témoigné d'abord beaucoup d'inquietude de ce que je lui ai dit touchant la résolution ou étoit votre Majesté d'avoir Luxembourg: il me voulut faire envisager toutes les suites d'une guerre, dans laquelle l'Europe

Europe presqu' entiere seroit unie contre votre Majesté. Je lui ai répondu, que je doutois que quand les intentions de votre Majesté seroient bien connues, les Princes de l'Empire, ni les Rois de Suede et de Dannemark, ni même les Etats Généraux voulussent entrer en guerre, pour empêcher votre Majesté d'avoir Luxembourg: que votre résolution étoit prise sur cela, et qu'elle ne changeroit pas; et qu'il y auroit lieu de croire que si on faisoit la guerre a votre Majesté pour cette seule ville, située comme elle est, on la feroit sans même que votre Majesté se mit en devoir de l'acquérir; qu'ainsi il valoit mieux prévenir les desseins de vos ennemis. Milord Heyde m'a représenté que si le dessein que votre Majesté a pris d'avoir Luxembourg jette le Roi d'Angleterre (comme il le craint) dans la nécessité d'assembler un parlement, c' est la plus dangereuse chose qui puisse arriver pour M. le Duc d'York, et que si sa ruine s'en ensuivoit, votre Majesté feroit une perte plus considerable que ne lui peut être la ville de Luxembourg. Partout ce que me dit milord Heyde, il me parut que son avis seroit que le Roy son maître se fit un merite auprès de votre Majesté d'une chose qu'il aura la peine à empêcher; il m'a pourtant fait voir une grande crainte que l'avis de milord Halifax, et des autres ministres que le Roi d'Angleterre peut consulter, ne prevale sur le sien, et ne mette icy les affaires en un etat au quel on ne pourra plus remedier.

J'ai entretenu aujourd'hui le Roy d'Angleterre chez Madame de Portsmouth, je l'ai trouvé préparé par milord Heyde à ce que j'avois à lui dire; il m'a temoigné un grand chagrin de savoir que votre Majesté avoit pris la resolution d'avoir Luxembourg pour l'équivalent de ses prétentions: il m'a dit que cela déconcerteroit entierement toutes les mesures qu'il avoit prises pour ses affaires, et que tous les embarras et inconveniens qu'il pouvoit prévoir de l'assemblée d'un parlement, étoient moindres que le peril au quel il s'exposeroit de ne le point assembler, lorsqu'il paroitra que votre Majesté a resolu de faire tomber la ville de Luxembourg sous sa puissance:

que s'il ne se résolvoit alors d'assembler son parlement, on diroit qu'il auroit trahi l'interêt de l'Angleterre, et vendu la plus importante placé des Pays-bas à votre Majesté. J'ai représenté à ce Prince combien peu de raison ont ceux, qui soutiennent que Luxembourg est un poste si considerable, n'étant sur aucune riviere, et ne pouvant servir à la defense du reste de Pays-bas, mais seulement à nuire à votre Majesté. Je lui ai dit librement et fortement mon avis sur l'assemblée du parlement, et que c'étoit pas un bon moyen pour rétablir ses affaires, ni pour conserver son autorité; que les gens mal intentionnés contre lui ne laisseroient pas perdre l'occasion de l'avoir entre leurs mains: que s'ils lui donnoient quelque chose d'abord sans lui imposer de conditions trop rudes, ils le feroient aussitôt qu'ils le pourroient. Je lui ai fait envisager les avantages qu'il tireroit d'une liaison étroite avec votre Majesté, et combien cela le feroit craindre et respecter de ses ennemis; j'ai soutenu qu'on parleroit trois jours de Luxembourg, comme on a fait de Strasbourg, et qu'ensuite non seulement l'Angleterre, mais le reste de l'Europe verroit avec plaisir que la paix s'établirait par tout; qu'il pouvoit être l'arbitre de la sureté des Pays-bas, et que votre Majesté entreroit sans cela dans tous les expédiens qui pourroient en établir le repos à l'avenir: ce que j'ai dit ne m'a pas attiré d'autre reponse, et je me suis retiré après avoir dit à sa Majesté Britannique que je dirois encore quelque chose à milord Heyde sur quoi elle auroit à faire reflexion.

Je m'attendois bien de trouver d'abord beaucoup de difficulté; je m'expliquerai incessamment de l'offre que votre Majesté me permet de faire d'un million d'augmentation pour le subside de l'année prochaine: je ne saurois répondre du succès, et j'ai vu si souvent prendre icy mauvais parti, qu'il y auroit beaucoup d'imprudence me promettre de persuader le Roy d'Angleterre. Ce qui me donne lieu d'espérer, c'est que milord Heyde ne m'a pas caché que si son avis est suivi, le Roi son maitre entrera dans un concert secret pour faire avoir à votre
Majesté

Majesté la ville de Luxembourg. J' aurois ce me semble un grand avantage dans cette negociation, si je pouvois faire envisager que votre Majesté voudra bien que l'augmentation de deux cent cinquante mille livres pour chaque payement commence à courir des le premier Oôtober passé; ce seroit cinq cent mille francs pour les deux derniers paymens de cette année. Si j'en ai le pouvoir, je ne l'épuiserai qu'à l' extremité.

Translation.

Extract of a letter from Mr. Barillon to Lewis the XIVth.—A million of livres to be given to Charles, for allowing France to seize Luxembourg.

November 17, 1681.

THE day before yesterday, very late, I received your Majesty's dispatch of the 12th November. It contains explanations very necessary for regulating my conduct here. I cannot yet answer for the success of the negociation with which your Majesty has charged me, but I am not surpris'd to find the difficulties I ought to expect, seeing the state to which affairs were reduced here the day before yesterday. I wrote that day a letter which the messenger I send is charged with the care of, and which will shew your Majesty the present situation of the court and the affairs of England.

It appears to me that to execute your Majesty's last orders, what I have principally to do is to engage the King of England not to oppose your Majesty's design of having Luxembourg as an equivalent for all your pretensions on the Low Countries. I have not omitted any of the reasons on which the justice of your Majesty's pretension is founded, any more than those which render the acquisition of Luxembourg necessary to the security of your kingdom. I enlarged on the trifling

jealousy which this place situated as it is, ought to give to England and the States General.

I spoke yesterday to Lord Hyde; thinking the time would not admit of the negociation being prolonged, and that I ought to point out to this minister clearly the advantages the King of England might obtain from your Majesty by favouring his pretension; I also represented to him that the King of England would have in his hands the repose of the Low Countries, and that your Majesty would make him arbitrator of the treaty which should be made for that purpose; I shewed him the inconveniences that would attend an opposition to the designs of your Majesty, the execution of which would be difficult to prevent; in short, I set forth all the inconveniences of a parliament and a war, and at the same time the safety and utility of an union with your Majesty. I have not yet explained myself clearly upon the sum that I am impowered to offer; it seemed to me sufficient to commence the negociation, and to get the King of England, if I can, to enter into a secret concert with me upon the affair of Luxemboug. I shall not let the occasion slip to conclude whenever it presents; I know well the importance of it. Lord Hyde shewed immediately his uneasiness at what I had said to him about your Majesty's resolution of having Luxembourg; he endeavoured to shew me the consequences of a war in which almost all Europe would be united against your Majesty. I said to him, that I much doubted when your Majesty's intentions should be well known, whether the Princes of the Empire, the Kings of Sweden and Denmark, or even the States General, would enter into a war to hinder your Majesty from having Luxembourg; that your resolution was taken, and that you would not change it; that there was reason to believe that if a war was made with your Majesty for this single town, situated as it is, they would make it although your Majesty had not attempted the acquisition, and that therefore it was better to prevent

vent your enemies designs. Lord Hyde represented to me, that if your Majesty's design of having Luxembourg should put the King of England under the necessity of assembling the parliament, (as he feared it would) it was the most dangerous thing that could happen to the Duke of York; and if his ruin followed it, your Majesty would suffer a much greater loss than that of the town of Luxembourg. By all Lord Hyde said, it appeared to me to be his opinion, that the King his master should make a merit to your Majesty of a thing which he would have a good deal of trouble to hinder; he nevertheless made a shew of a great apprehension lest the advice of Lord Halifax, and the other ministers, whom the King of England might consult, should prevail over his, and put affairs here in a condition, to be without remedy.

I conversed this day with the King of England at Lady Portsmouth's. I found him prepared by Lord Hyde upon what I had to say to him; he expressed a great chagrin to hear that your Majesty had taken the resolution to have Luxembourg as an equivalent for your pretensions; he told me it would entirely disconcert all the measures he had taken in his affairs, and that all the inconveniences and embarrassments he could foresee from assembling the parliament, were less than the danger to which he should expose himself by not calling it, when it should appear that your Majesty had resolved to make the town of Luxembourg fall under your power: that if he did not then resolve to assemble his parliament, it would be said he had betrayed the interests of England, and sold your Majesty the most important place in the Low Countries.

I represented to this Prince how little reason they had, who maintained that Luxembourg was so considerable a post, not being on any river, and incapable to serve as a defence to the rest of the Low Countries, but only fit to hurt your Majesty. I gave him freely and strongly my opinion upon the assembling the parliament, and that it was not a good means for re-establishing his

affairs, or preserving his authority; that the persons who were evil intentioned to him, would not lose the occasion of having him in their hands: that if they gave him something immediately, without imposing too hard conditions on him, they would impose them as soon as they could. I shewed him the advantages he would draw from a strict union with your Majesty, and how much it would make him be feared and respected by his enemies. I maintained they would make a three days wonder only of Luxembourg, as they had done of Strasbourg; and that afterwards, not only England, but the rest of Europe, would see with pleasure a peace established every where; that he might be arbitrator of the safety of the Low Countries; and that your Majesty, independant of that, would enter into all the expedients which could be thought of to establish its repose for the future. What I said obtained me no other answer, and I retired after having told his Britannick Majesty that I should yet say something to my Lord Hyde, upon which he would have reason to reflect.

I expected to find a great many difficulties at first. I shall explain myself immediately on the offer your Majesty has permitted me to make of a million in addition to the subsidy for next year; I cannot answer for the success, and I have so often seen them take wrong steps here, that it would be very imprudent in me to flatter myself with being able to persuade the King of England: what gives me room to hope is, that Lord Hyde has not hid from me, that if his advice is followed, the King his master will enter into a secret concert with your Majesty for your having the town of Luxembourg. I think I should have a great advantage in this negotiation, if I could let it be known that your Majesty is willing the augmentation of two hundred and fifty thousand livres to each payment shall commence from the first of last October; this would be five hundred thousand for the two last payments of this year. If I have the power, I will not make use of it till the last extremity."

After

After much altercation Charles agreed to allow the French to seize Luxembourg, and received a million of livres in return. Barillon writes thus to Louis the XIVth, on the 1st of December, 1681: 'Après plusieurs conférences que j'ai eues avec le Roy d'Angleterre et milord Heyde, les propositions que j'ai faites de la part de votre Majesté ont été acceptées.' 'After many conferences which I have had with the King of England and Lord Hyde, the proposals which I made from your Majesty have been accepted.' This bargain was also unknown to all but Hyde.

Even private persons in Britain were prevented by French money at this time from interposing against the encroachments of France. Barillon writes, June 9th, 1681, that Lord Arran, son to the Duke of Hamilton, offered to raise a Scotch regiment for the service of Spain, but that he had stopped him by the hopes of money from France.

In the Depot.

After the strict union which was formed between Lewis, Charles, and the Duke of York, by the private verbal treaty of the year 1681, Lewis became indifferent about keeping up his connexions with the popular party in England, and informed Barillon of it. Barillon in answer wrote him the following letter.

Extrait d' une Lettre de M. Barillon au Roy.

Septembre 22, 1681.

VOtre majesté m'ordonne par sa dernière dépêche du 12, d'agir avec grande retenue pour ne point donner d'ombrage et de défiance au Roy d'Angleterre, par le commerce que j'aurais avec M. de Montaigu, et les autres amis de M. le Duc de Monmouth; j'aurai sur cela tout la précaution possible, mais je ne puis m'empêcher de représenter à votre Majesté, qu'il est à ce que

In the Depot.

que je crois fort important à son service, de ne pas mécontenter les gens avec qui j'ai eu des liaisons et des commerces intimes. Votre Majesté scait de quel usage cela lui peut être encore à l'avenir, et combien les cabales opposées à la cour sont utiles à maintenir les affaires d'Angleterre en l'état qui convient à votre Majesté. Le commerce que j'ai avec eux les rend plus difficiles à l'égard de la cour, et c'est peut être le meilleur moyen et le plus assuré d'empêcher que le Roy d'Angleterre ne change conduite à l'égard de votre Majesté : car tant que l'accommodement sera rempli de difficultés, et que les chefs des cabales se tiendront fermes, et croiront qu'il faut qu'à la fin le Roy d'Angleterre se foudrette à eux, l'accommodement ne sera pas aisé : mais s'ils s'aperçoivent d'une liaison entre votre Majesté et sa Majesté Britannique, et qu'en même tems le Roy d'Angleterre veuille se relacher, la réunion est possible : c'est pourquoi mon sentiment ne seroit pas de demeurer sans mouvement à leur égard ; c'est ce qui pourroit davantage leur persuader que votre Majesté a pris d'autres mesures, et qu'elle ne croit plus avoir besoin d'eux.

M. de Montaignu me demanda un rendezvous il y a deux jours ; et après de longs discours sur le service qu'il prétend avoir rendu à votre Majesté, il me dit qu'il étoit en état présentement d'en rendre un aussi considérable que celui de l'accusation du grand tresorier ; qu'il le feroit avec beaucoup de zèle, mais qu'il ne pouvoit s'engager en de nouvelles affaires que la première ne fut finie, et qu'il ne se vit assuré d'un entier et parfait payment. Qu'il voudroit pas s'exposer à paroître frivole à votre Majesté, et que ce qu'il avoit à me dire alloit à mettre votre Majesté en état que l'Angleterre ne lui pourroit nuire de longtems ; qu'il ne capituleroit point avec votre Majesté, et qu'il se remettroit à elle de la récompense qu'elle croiroit qu'elle mériteroit pour ce qu'il avoit à proposer ; mais il se tint toujours ferme à vouloir des assurances positives de ce qui lui reste dû, et que sans cela il ne pouvoit hazarder encore sa fortune et sa tête. Je le pressai fort de s'ouvrir
davantage,

davantage, mais il me fut impossible d'en tirer autre chose, si ce n'est que quand il seroit assuré d'un entier payment, votre Majesté verroit qu'il n'étoit pas un charlatan, et qu'il ne voudroit pour rien du monde perdre l'estime et les bonnes graces de votre Majesté.

J'ai eu d'abord quelque soupçon que M. de Montaigne vouloit penetrer (par la maniere dont j'entrerois avec lui) si votre Majesté a pris des liaisons avec le Roy d'Angleterre qui l'empêchassent de prendre aucune autre mesure ; mais depuis il m'a paru qu'il a quelque chose de solide à proposer qui iroit à détruire les cabales et les intrigues du Prince d'Orange, et empêcher qu'elles ne soient à la fin assez fortes pour le mettre en état de donner la loy au Roy d'Angleterre et à M. le Duc d'York.

Votre Majesté jugera ce qui convient à son service ; ce n'est pas beaucoup hazarder d'avancer de quelques mois le paiement de ce qui reste dû à M. de Montaigne. On pourroit peutêtre croire que quand il sera entierement payé, il seroit moins zélé pour agir, et ne se soucieroit pas de s'exposer pour l'intérêt de votre Majesté, mais aussi je ne vois pas de possibilité de le faire agir sans le contenter, et je ne crois pas qu'il trouve son avantage à abandonner les intérêts de votre Majesté, dont il esperera toujours une protection puissante, et d'autres avantages en rendant de nouveaux services.

Je n'ai pu m'empêcher d'entrer dans la proposition de M. de Montaigne, et la discuter avec lui, autrement il m'auroit cru entierement engagé avec la cour. Je lui ai pourtant représenté que ce qu'il disoit étoit trop grand, et l'ai fort pressé de s'expliquer davantage, mais il m'a dit qu'il attendroit ce que votre Majesté m'ordonneroit, et que s'il étoit bien traité, je verrois quel service il étoit capable de rendre.

J'ai essayé de pénétrer, par Madame Hervé, ce que M. de Montaigne vouloit proposer, mais il ne lui a pas voulu confier ce detail, à ce qu'elle m'a dit : je vois bien que cela a empêché quelque chose d'important que M. le Prince d'Orange voudroit entreprendre, lorsqu'on

lorsqu'on s'y attendra le moins ; et ce pourroit bien être un projet de reunion de toutes les cabales, et une amnistie generale, par laqu'elle les milords Catholiques, milord Damby, et milord Schafbery fortiroient de prison, et le Roy d'Angleterre offriroit de tout oublier de son côté, pourvu que du côté de parlement on voulut aussi entrer dans une autre conduite à son égard.

Je n'ai sur cela que des soupçons, mais j'ai été averti que milord Halifax à ce projet en tête, et qu'il parle en tout occasion comme un homme qui n'a point d'autre dessein que de raccommoder le Roy d'Angleterre avec son peuple.

Je reçois presentement la dépêche de votre Majesté du 15 Septembre, à laqu'elle étoit joint l'extrait d'une lettre de M. d'Avaux ; je dirigerai ma conduite selon ce que votre Majesté me prescrit. Il ne faut pas douter que M. le Prince d'Orange ne fasse tous ses efforts pour établir une étroite liaison entre l'Angleterre et les Etat Généraux, qui serviroit ensuite de fondement à une ligue avec les autres princes jaloux de la grandeur de votre Majesté : comme M. le Prince d'Orange ignore ce qui s'est passé il y a quelques mois entre votre Majesté et le Roy d'Angleterre, il travaille sur un faux principe, et croit que pourvu que les Etats Généraux entrent fortement dans des engagements contre votre Majesté, sa Majesté Britannique n'aura aucune raison de ne pas faire la même chose, et que le meilleur moyen de se raccommoder avec le parlement, sera de faire une ligue qui sera agréable à toute la nation ; c'est ce qu'il est nécessaire d'empêcher, et pour cela il me semble que votre Majesté ayant traité avec le Roy d'Angleterre, ou du moins, l'ayant engagé par un secours d'argent à ne se pas separer de ses intérêts, il reste seulement à menager le parti qui lui est opposé, en sorte que le Roy d'Angleterre, et ceux qui ont sa confiance, ne soient pas entraînés, et ne trouvent pas leurs avantages à manquer aux engagements qui ont été pris.

Je

Je crois que ce qui est à faire présentement, est de traverser tout sorte d'accommodement entre les mécontents et la cour, et faire en sorte que cette reunion que M. le Prince d'Orange a en tête ne se fasse pas. Les gens avec qui je suis en commerce peuvent beaucoup pour l'empêcher, et je serai toujours bien reçu à entrer avec eux dans des mesures conformes à ce qu'ils desireront; car ce qu'ils craignent principalement est que votre Majesté ne soutienne le Roy d'Angleterre. J'agirai avec beaucoup de précaution, et je connois l'importance de ne fournir aucun prétexte à sa Majesté Britannique de manquer à votre Majesté; mais aussi je ne pense pas qu'il faille demeurer les bras croisés dans une conjoncture comme celle cy, et laisser M. le Prince d'Orange parvenir à son but sans s'y opposer.

En attendant que je reçoive les ordres de votre Majesté sur ce que m'a dit M. de Montaigu, j'essayerai de ménager son esprit, et de tirer de lui quelque chose de plus que ce qu'il m'a dit: c'est un homme qui peut être d'un fort grand secours, et par qui je puis faire davantage que par plusieurs autres. Pour dire la vérité, il n'est pas content et croit avoir été négligé, mais tout cela sera réparé, si votre Majesté donne ses ordres pour achever le payement de ce qui est dû.

Translation.

Extract of a letter from Mr. Barillon to Louis the XIVth.—Advises Louis not to let the intrigues with the popular party be dropped on account of his late treaty with Charles.—New proposals from Mr. Montagu.

September 22, 1681.

“YOUR Majesty orders me by your last dispatch of the 12th to be very circumspect not to give umbrage or mistrust to the King of England by the connection I have with Mr. Montagu and the other friends to the Duke of Monmouth. I shall take every possible precaution; but I cannot forbear representing
to

to your Majesty, that in my way of thinking it is very important to your service not to put out of humour those persons with whom I have had particular and intimate connexions. Your Majesty knows of what use it may be to you hereafter, and how much the cabals in opposition to the court are necessary to keep the affairs of England in a state convenient for your Majesty. The correspondence I have with them renders them more difficult with regard to the court ; and is perhaps the best and most certain means to prevent the King of England changing his conduct to your Majesty ; for as long as the reconciliation is filled with difficulties, and the chiefs of the cabals hold themselves firm, and believe that in the end the King of England must submit himself to them, the reconciliation will not be easy ; but if they perceive a connexion between your Majesty and his Britannick Majesty, and that at the same time the King of England may be brought to make concessions, the reunion is possible. 'Tis therefore my opinion not to be inactive with regard to them. Besides, inactivity might persuade them still more, that your Majesty has taken other measures, and has no farther need of them.

Mr. Montagu two days ago asked a meeting with me ; and after a long discourse upon the service he says he has done your Majesty, he told me that he was at present in a capacity to do you as considerable a service as he had done in accusing the high Treasurer ; that he would do it with a great deal of zeal, but could not engage in any new affair till the first was finished, and till he saw himself certain of entire and complete payment. That he would not expose himself to appear frivolous to your Majesty, and what he had to say to me was to put you in a condition not to be hurt by England for a long time : That he would not capitulate with your Majesty, but refer himself to you for such a recompence as you might think he deserved for what he had to propose : But he stuck fast to having positive assurances of being paid what was due him, and that
without

without it he could not again hazard his fortune and his head. I pressed him much to open himself further, but it was impossible for me to get any thing more from him, except that when he was sure of his entire payment, your Majesty would find he was not an impostor, and that he would not for any thing in the world lose your Majesty's esteem and good graces.

I had at first some suspicion that Mr. Montagu wanted to discover (from the manner I should enter upon matters with him) whether your Majesty had made alliances with the King of England that could hinder him from taking any other measure; but it has appeared since to me that he has something solid to propose which might tend to destroy the cabals and intrigues of the Prince of Orange, and prevent their being in the end powerful enough to give law to the King of England and the Duke of York.

Your Majesty will judge what is convenient for your service; it is not hazarding much to advance a few months the payment of what remain due to Mr. Montagu. It may be thought that if he should be entirely paid, he would be less zealous to act, and would not care to expose himself for your Majesty's interest; but on the other hand, I do not see a possibility to make him act without satisfying him, and I believe he will not find his advantage in abandoning your Majesty's interests, from whom he will always expect a powerful protection, and new advantages when he does new services.

I could not help entering into Mr. Montagu's proposition, and discussing it with him, otherwise he might have believed me entirely engaged with the court: I nevertheless represented to him that what he said was of too high a nature, and pressed him strongly to be more explicit; but he told me he should wait for the orders your Majesty should give me, and if he was well treated, I should see what service he was capable of doing.

I endeavor-

I endeavoured to penetrate, through Mrs. Hervey, into what Mr. Montagu had to propose, but by what she said, I find he will not trust her with the matter. I plainly see it aims at hindering something important which the Prince of Orange wants to attempt, when it is the least expected, and this may probably be a project of reunion of all the cabals, and a general amnestie, by which the catholic Lords, and Danby and Shaftesbury may get out of prison, and the King of England offer on his part to forget all, provided the parliament on theirs will change their conduct with regard to him.

I only suspect this: but I have been informed Lord Halifax has this project in his head, and that he talks on every occasion, like a man who has no other design than to reconcile the King of England with his people.

I have just received your Majesty's dispatch of the 15th of September, to which was added the extract of a letter from M. d'Avaux; I shall direct my conduct agreeably to what your Majesty prescribes. There is no doubt but the Prince of Orange will use all his efforts to establish a strict union between England and the States General, which may hereafter serve as a basis for a league with other Princes, jealous of your Majesty's greatness: as the Prince of Orange is ignorant of what has passed for some months between your Majesty and the King of England, he works upon a false principle, and believes, that provided the States General enter strongly into engagements against your Majesty, his Britannick Majesty will have no reason not to do the same thing; and that the best means of reconciling himself to his parliament, will be to make a league agreeable to the whole nation. This it is necessary to prevent, and for that purpose it appears to me, that your Majesty having made a treaty with the King of England, or, at least having engaged him by a supply of money not to separate himself from your interests, it only remains to manage properly the party which opposes him, in order that the King of England, and those who have his confidence, may not be drawn on,
nor

nor find their advantages in failing in the engagements which have been formed.

I think what ought at present to be done, is to counteract every sort of reconciliation between the malecontents and the court, and prevent this reunion which the Prince of Orange has in his head. The people I have dealings with can do much to prevent it. They always receive me well when I enter with them into such measures as they desire; for what they principally fear is your Majesty's supporting the King of England. I shall act with a great deal of precaution, and know the importance of not furnishing any pretence to his Britannic Majesty; but I also think we should not at such a juncture as the present remain with folded arms, and let the Prince of Orange attain his ends without opposition.

In waiting for the receipt of your Majesty's orders upon what Mr. Montagu said to me, I shall endeavour to manage his spirit, and draw from him something more than what he has as yet told me: he is a man who may be of very great help, and by whom I can do more than by many others. To speak the truth, he is not contented, and thinks he has been neglected; but all this may be removed, if your Majesty gives orders for the payment of what is due to him."

Whilst Charles was trafficking with France for yielding to her one of the chief barriers of the Low Countries, one of the heads of the popular party in England was attempting the same traffick with regard to the same object. The following letter from Monsieur Barrillon to Louis the XIVth, on this subject, is in the *Depot* at Versailles.

Extrait d' une dépêche de M. Barillon au Roy.

Novembre 24, 1681.

In the Depot.

“ J’ AI vu M. de Montaigu depuis deux jours. La réponse qui a été donnée à Vanbeunining a dissipé une partie de ses soupçons, et il m’a parlé comme un homme qui avoit fort envie d’entrer dans une nouvelle affaire. Il m’a dit qu’il paroïsoit par toutes les demarches qui ont été faites depuis quelque tems, que votre Majesté avoit formé le dessein d’avoir Luxembourg, que si cela étoit, et que je lui puisse parler confidement, il se feroit fort avec ses amis d’empêcher que le parlement n’entrât en rien contre votre Majesté, et ne donnât pas un sol pour secourir les Espagnols ; que pour cela il falloit prendre des mesures de bonne heure, et ne pas attendre que les ministres et le Prince d’Orange eussent formé toutes leurs cabales pour faire reussir leur dessein. Que je savois comme il avoit agi dans l’affaire du grand tresorier, et du licentïement de l’armée ; que celle ci étoit moins difficile pourvu qu’on prit bien ses mesures. Qu’il falloit s’entendre avec cinq ou six personnes des plus accreditées de la chambre basse, et les engager à traverser les desseins de la cour ; mais qu’on ne voudroit point faire une affair à demi : et qu’il falloit prendre une liaison qui durât, et qui mit le parlement d’Angleterre en état de ne pouvoir nuire de longtems à votre Majesté : que cela se pouvoit en gagnant les principaux du parlement, et en faisant quelque chose de favorable pour le commerce en general de l’Angleterre. La conclusion de son discours fut que votre Majesté pourroit prendre Luxembourg, et peut être quelqu’ autre place, si on vouloit, concerter cela avec ceux qui peuvent conduire la chambre des communes, ou empêcher les résolutions que la cour y voudroit faire prendre. Je dis à M. de Montaigu que ce temoignage de sa bonne volonté ne pouvoit qu’être agréable à votre Majesté ; que je l’assurois qu’on entreroit

entreroit fort volontiers avec lui dans une intelligence secrète; què quoique je crusse que votre Majesté ne s'éloigneroit pas de recevoir Luxembourg pour l'équivalent de ses pretentions, je ne savois pas qu'elle eut un dessein formel de s'en emparer, et que je ne croiois pas qu'elle voulut le faire par force: que quoique je connusse par experience ce que peuvent dans le parlement cinq ou six des principaux quand ils agissent de concert, je doutois qu'ils pussent retenir l'impétuosité de la chambre des communes, quand elle seroit animée par les plaintes des Espagnols, et par les artifices de ceux qui voudroient faire prendre des résolutions contre la France; que ce qu'il me disoit étoit fort important, et méritoit beaucoup de reflexion; qu'il devoit bien croire que je ne négligerois pas l'occasion de rendre un service signalé à votre Majesté, et d'entrer dans une affaire que pourroit lui être si agréable: M. de Montaignu me répondit, que les affaires de ce pays cy n'étoient jamais si fures qu'on put s'en promettre un succès infallible; que ce seroit une imprudence à lui de s'engager legerement, et de promettre des choses qu'il ne pourroit pas tenir; qu'il connoissoit la pente de la nation contre la France, et la difficulté de retenir la chaleur des Anglois sur cela, mais que l'on pouvoit par des voyes presque fures détourner l'effet de tout ce qui seroit proposé contre la France: que d'abord on accuseroit le Duc d'York et les trois ministres, et qu'on résoudroit de ne point donner d'argent que le parlement n'eut été satisfait sur cela; qu'on demanderoit la condamnation de milord Danby, et qu'on mettroit le Roy d'Angleterre en état de ne rien obtenir, et en nécessité de casser le parlement, ce qui rendroit inutiles toutes les declarations qu'il auroit faites. J'ai crû ne devoir point rebuter la proposition de M. de Montaignu; il pourroit arriver de telles choses que votre Majesté se serviroit de lui utilement, et renverferoit les projets qui auroient été faits contre ses intérêts. Il me paroît cependant que la proposition de s'engager avec les principaux du parlement peut être sujette à des inconveniens; et tant que le Roy d'Angleterre ne pren-

dra point le parti des ennemis de votre Majesté, une liaison avec ce Prince est plus raisonnable et plus légitime, qu'une association avec les mécontents; mais si je trouvois toujours icy d l'impossibilité à faire entrer le Roy d'Angleterre dans la proposition de faire avoir Luxembourg à votre majesté, et qu'il se laissât entrainer à ceux qui veulent s'unir à vos ennemis, je ne crois pas qu'il fallut refuser les offres qui fait M. de Montaignu. Mais sans entrer dans une liaison trop generale, je croirois qu'on pourroit traiter pour une affaire partiiculere comme seroit celle de Luxembourg, et je ne pense pas qu'il fut impossible d'y réussir en la maniere que M. de Montaignu le propose: je me tiendrai en état d'exécuter ce que votre Majesté m'ordonne; je crois cependant devoir ménager M. de Montaignu avec soin, parcequ'il peut par la suite être utile au service de votre Majesté: il est nécessaire pour cela de le faire bientôt payer de ce qui lui est du, et je ne vois point de moyen de s'en servir sans le contenter sur le passé.

Je ne néglige pas les autres gens avec qui j'ai eu commerce; je connois combien cela importe; car des qu'on est trop longtems sans leur rien dire, le soupçon les prend d'une reunion entre votre Majesté et sa Majesté Britannique. Je suis, &c."

Translation.

Extract of a dispatch from M. Barillon to Louis the XIVth, Nov. 24, 1681.—Montagu proposes that France should get Luxembourg by means of the popular party in England.

"**I** Saw Mr. Montagu two days ago. The answer given to Vanbeuning, has partly dissipated his suspicions; and he talks to me like one who has a great desire to enter into some new affair. He told me it appeared, from all the steps taken for some time past, your Majesty had formed a design of having Luxembourg; that

that if it was so, and I could speak confidently to him, he would do his utmost with his friends to hinder the parliament from doing any thing against your Majesty, or giving one farthing help to the Spaniards; that to this end measures ought to be taken in good time, and things not delayed till the ministers and the Prince of Orange had formed all their cabals to cause their design to succeed. That I knew how he had acted in the affair of the Treasurer and disbanding the army, that the present matter was less difficult, provided they took their measures well. That it was necessary he should connect himself with five or six members of the greatest credit in the House of Commons, and engage them to oppose the designs of the court; but they would not do a thing by halves. That an union should be made which should last, and which might put the parliament in a state of not hurting your Majesty for a long time: That this might be done by gaining the principal people in parliament, and doing something favourable for the commerce in general of England. The conclusion of this discourse was, that your Majesty might take Luxembourg and perhaps some other place, if it was concerted with those who could lead the House of Commons, and hinder the resolutions which the court wished should be taken there. I told Mr. Montagu that this testimony of his good will could not but be agreeable to your Majesty, that I could assure him a secret intelligence would be very willingly entered into with him; that though I believed your Majesty would not be against receiving Luxembourg as an equivalent for your pretensions, I did not know that you had a formal design to become master of it, nor did I think you would do it by force: that though I knew by experience what five or six leading men could do in parliament when they acted in concert, I doubted if they could be able to restrain the impetuosity of the House of Commons, when they were animated by the complaints of the Spaniards, and by the artifices of those who wanted them to take resolutions against France; that what he said was

very important, and merited much reflection; that he might well believe I would not neglect the occasion of doing your Majesty a signal service, and entering into an affair which might be so agreeable to you. Mr. Montague answered, that the affairs of this country were never so sure that one could promise an infallible success; that it would be imprudent in him to engage himself lightly, and promise things he could not perform; that he knew the bent of the nation against France, and the difficulty of restraining the heat of the English upon that head, but that the effect of whatever could be proposed against France, might be obviated by means almost certain; that to this end they might immediately accuse the Duke of York and the three ministers, and resolve not to give any money till the parliament had been satisfied upon that head: that they might demand Lord Danby's condemnation, and put the King of England in a condition to obtain nothing, and reduce him to the necessity of dissolving the parliament, which would render all the declarations he might make of no use. I did not think it proper to reject Mr. Montagu's proposal; incidents may happen to make him serviceable, to overturn the projects that have been formed against your interests: It appears however, that his proposal of engaging himself with the principal men in parliament may be subject to inconveniencies; and as long as a King of England does not take part with your Majesty's enemies, an alliance with this Prince is more reasonable and lawful than an association with the malecontents; but if I find it impossible to make the King of England enter into the proposal of your Majesty's having Luxemburgh, and that he suffers himself to be led by those who would unite him to your enemies, I think Mr. Montague's offers should not be refused. But without entering into a connexion too general, I imagine a particular affair like that of Luxembourg may be treated of, and I do not think it impossible to succeed in the manner Mr. Montague proposes. I shall keep myself ready to execute what your Majesty orders;

ders; and think that in the mean time I ought to manage Mr. Montague with care, because he may in the end be useful to your Majesty's service. For this purpose it is necessary to pay him soon what is due to him; and I see no other way to make him serviceable for the future than to satisfy him for the past.

I do not neglect the other persons with whom I had commerce. I know the importance of it; for if I should continue too long without saying any thing to them, they will suspect a re-union between your Majesty and his Britannick Majesty."

The French however chose rather to deal with King Charles than with Mr. Montagu about Luxembourg. Barillon writes on the 25th of December 1681, that Charles had proposed to be arbiter in the affair of Luxembourg, in order that he might have an opportunity of giving it to France.

In the *Depot*.

This probably occasioned the public offer which Louis made to Spain, of referring the dispute about Luxembourg to Charles, but which Spain refused.

This refusal afforded a pretence to Charles to give himself no trouble for the protection of Luxembourg.

Among Lord Preston's dispatches, who was ambassador in France at this time, there are the three following letters on this head.

In Mr. Graham of Netherby's possession.

Letter from Lord Preston to the Marquis of Halifax.—
Complains of the Spaniards for refusing the arbitration of King Charles.

My Lord,

Paris, Dec. 23, S. N. 82.

"I Received the honour of your Lordship's of the 4th current, S. V. upon Monday last, for which I am to return my most humble acknowledgements. I found by it, as indeed I have upon all occasions, the

continuance of your Lordship's favour and kindness to me, which though I could never merit from your Lordship, yet I shall always highly value, and never fail to endeavour to make some return by my most faithful, and constant service to you.

Your Lordship judges very right, that the prolongation of the term lately obtained by his Majesty, is the likeliest means to preserve the peace of Christendom, and the world hath reason to wonder that the Spaniards and their allies, either do not or will not seem to see it. I have frequent occasions here of conversing with the ministers of Spain, of which there are now three in this court, and in their discourses they seem still to be averse from accepting the arbitrage of our Master, and urge the same things which their Envoy at the Hague had lately offered in a memorial. The advices which they have for some time given to their court, that France hath no mind to enter into a war, I believe may have been one occasion of its not accepting hitherto what hath been proposed: But though it may be true that a year or two's repose would be very advantageous to this kingdom, yet it is as true, that if they will force a war upon this King, he is much better able to support it, and to attack them, than they are to defend themselves; and I wish they may not involve themselves and their neighbours in blood by their opiniâtreté. One of those ministers told me the other day that he could wish with all his heart, that the King my Master would find out a temperament for the composing of those differences. I asked him if he could propose any temperament, or any means more likely to produce the effect he intended, than that of his Majesty's accepting the arbitrage proposed: He said he believed, that if the King would call a parliament, it would put him into a better condition to bring this King to reason, whose custom it is to observe no treaties longer than they appear to be for his advantage, unless he be forced to it. Your Lordship I know understands very well the meaning of this, and I suppose they have not failed to offer something like

like this in England already, or at least doubtless they will do it soon. I answered, that his Majesty was in very good circumstances, and in a capacity to undertake the arbitrage, and also to see that what was concluded should be observed. That I believed he would not be pleased that any one should prescribe to him the time of calling his parliament. That he would do it when his affairs required it, and not before. But upon the whole, I find their great hopes are that another delay will not be refused after the expiration of this term, and they seem to flatter themselves that the Emperour's affairs will be on a better posture than they are at present; but for my part, I see no great likelihood of that."

PRESTON.

Lord Preston to Secretary Jenkins, to the same purpose.

S I R,

Paris, December 26, 1682.

"SOME streaks of light begin now to appear, and one of the Spanish ministers hath of late explained himself on the affair of the arbitrage; for being asked, why it was not accepted in his court, he answered, because they had no mind to part with Luxembourg, which they were sure was to be sacrificed if they did accept it; yet he said he believed the proposal would be received, if the King of England would call his parliament. But being asked, why they did not declare that now, he answered, that they knew well enough that France had no mind to enter into a war at present; but if it so happened that they came to be much pressed, it would be time enough to declare it then. I hinted something of this by the last post, to the Marquis of Halifax; but what I write now, hath passed since. By this you will see what is aimed at, and how goodly a proposition is likely soon to be made to his Majesty.

In Cypher.

Lord

*Lord Preston to Secretary Jenkins, to the same purpose.—
The great importance of Luxembourg.*

S I R,

Paris, February 3, S. N. 1683.

Monsieur Delvall being with me the other day, fell to discourse upon the present state of Spanish affairs. He asked me if I had heard any thing out of England concerning a further prolongation of the term (for the report hath been here that *Monsieur de Barillon had privately acquainted his Majesty that the King his master would accord a delay till the last day of the last month.*) I told him that I had heard nothing of it, nor did expect to hear any thing, since Spain seemed to desire no such thing. He said that Monsieur de Ronquillos had received a reprimand from the Spanish court, for desiring one the last time, he not having orders to do it; and he was sure that it would not be demanded this time, because it would be a tacit owing of the pretensions of France. I answered, that I wondered the conduct of Monsieur de Ronquillos should be disapproved upon that occasion, since I thought it was the most considerable piece of service that he was capable of doing to his master at that time.—

He says, that he was sure that the ministers of Spain would willingly hearken to an accommodation, but that the arbitrage, as it was proposed, could not be accepted. That he could wish a temperament were found, and that they were willing to sacrifice considerably for the assring of a peace; but that they could not part with Luxembourg, which they were forced for the importance of it, to maintain at a very great charge. He said that four years since a minister of France who had been upon several embassies, (and he seemed to decypher Monsieur Courtin) had told him that after all the proposals and attempts of France, as well in the time of peace as war, Luxembourg was the place aimed at, and that no other thing would suit with this King's designs; for being already possessed of Strasbourg, if he had that city in his hands, he rendered himself master of the four Electors of the Rhine, whom he might soon force to declare him King of the Romans, and so possess himself of the

Empire.

In Cypher.

In Cypher.

Empire. He said further, that though the house of Austria be low, yet it was not willing to help on its own ruin by this means, and since Luxembourg is the thing aimed at, it were better for him to give it up with a good grace, to be thanked for it by France, than to lose it by an arbitrage.

To all this I replied, that the King my master was induced to offer this arbitrage, by the great desire only which he hath always shewn to have the peace and repose of Europe established, and that I should not presume to dive into the reasons, which the ministers of Spain had to refuse so wholesome, and so seasonable a proposition; but that I could not think that their procedure was reasonable in anticipating the judgment of the King my master, and in presuming to advance that it should be to their disadvantage, since the hopes of each party contending ought to be equal from an indifferent arbitrator; and I did assure him that the King, my master, was one of those,”

The refusal of Spain to submit to the arbitration of Charles, furnished France also with a pretence for making more encroachments upon the Spanish Netherlands.

Among Lord Preston's dispatches are the two following on this head.

Letter from Lord Preston to Secretary Jenkins, Paris, July 15, 1682.—France uses Spain's refusal to accept of Charles's arbitration, as an excuse for further encroachments.

S I R,

“ I Received by the last post the papers which were given you by the Spanish ambassador, and yesterday I went to Versailles and delivered them to Mr. de Croissy, and told him that they contained matter of complaint of some infractions of the treaty of Nimiguen in the neighbourhood of Namur; that they had been delivered

delivered to the King, my master, by Don Pedro de Ronquillos, and by his command, transmitted to me: that I was also further ordered, to intimate the desire of the King, my master, to his most Christian Majesty, that he would give his orders, that no such infraction as are complained of in those papers, nor any other innovations of any kind may be suffered, much less authorised to the prejudice of the King of Spain, or his subjects in those countries. Mr. de Croissy told me that he did not believe that these complaints were better founded than many others that the Spaniards had of late made; that he could say nothing to the particulars, but that he would acquaint the King, his master, with the subject of those papers, and also of the desire of his Majesty of Great Britain; but he believed no other answer could at this time be reasonably given than this; that all matters in difference betwixt France and Spain of all kinds, were referred and submitted to the King, my master; that if the Spaniards would accept of his mediation, this and all other things would easily be ended and composed; but if they did not soon declare themselves upon that subject, he believed his master would think himself no way engaged by any thing which he had done or promised, for the settling of peace in Europe, which he passionately desired; but that he should be at liberty to take those measures which he should think would conduce most to his advantage."

Lord Preston to Sir Richard Bulstrode to the same purpose.

S I R,

Paris, Nov. 8, S. N. 1683.

Monsieur de Croissy, by order of the King, told me the other day, that the small inclination which Spain shewed to an accommodation, has obliged the King, his master, to send orders to the Marschal de Humieres to besiege Courtray; but that as soon as it was taken, he was resolved to submit that, and all his pretensions which he might have upon Spain, to the disposition and determination of the King, our master; that he had acquainted Monsieur Barillon with this resolution,

tion, and the reasons of it by a courier exprefs, which he was to impart to his Majesty: that he had alfo done the fame to Monsieur d'Avaux, and fent him this King's order to notify it to the States General at the Hague, and to make his great design which he hath to eftablifh the peace of Chriftendom, appear to the whole world. The king, his mafter, had ordered him further to declare to me, that if Spain would give him any equivalent for the juft pretensions which he hath upon the *Pais d'Aloft* and the *Vieu bourg de Gand*, that he was willing to accept it, and that he would propofe three ways for it; that Spain might choofe that which fhould be moft convenient to itfelf: the firft is, that he will be willing to take Luxembourg with the walls and fortifications razed, with twelve or thirteen villages about it, fuch as he fhall name; or, in the next place, he will take Courtray and Dixmude, with fome villages which depend upon them; or if the King of Spain be not willing to give him an equivalent in Flanders, he will accept of Purcerda in Catalogne, with that part of the county of Cerdagne, which yet remaineth to the Spaniard. And to make it alfo appear that he hath no design to attack the Empire, when he fhall have adjusted differences with Spain, he is willing to grant a truce to it for thirty, twenty-five, or twenty years, as the matter fhall be regulated by the diet at Ratifbon. This is what Monsieur de Croffy told me, but whether Spain will hearken to it or not, you are better able to judge than I.

I am with great fincerity, yours, &c.

France even prevailed with Charles to interpoſe his authority with the Prince of Orange, to prevail with the Dutch to perfuade Spain to make peace with the lofs of Luxembourg.

A letter from Lord Rocheſter to the Prince of Orange on this head, and alfo a copy of the Prince's answer to one which Charles had written him, are in King William's box as follows:

Lord

Lord Rochester to the Prince of Orange.—Advises him to peace, and not to differ with France on account of Luxembourg.

“**H**AVING been obliged to be some time at the waters at Tunbridge with my wife, who hath been very ill there, hath been the occasion of my not presenting my most humble thanks to your Highness for the great honour you were pleased to do me by your letter of the 16th instant from Diering. I think myself very happy that your Highness is pleased to take well any thing in the world that I can do. I am sure no man living can have more duty to your person, and I am extremely obliged to Monsieur de Bentinck for having so represented me to your Highness as that you are not dissatisfied with me; it is a great misfortune there should be such difference in opinion between the King and your Highness, in some affairs relating to the public, on which the peace of Christendom so much depends; which by the news that is now come of the marching of the French troops into the Pays d’Alost, seems to be very near broke. I see by what your Highness says, it would be very hard, if not impossible, to persuade you to consent that the razing of Luxembourg should be a means to preserve it, upon which subject Monsieur Bentinck must have told your Highness what the King’s opinion is, to which I know not what to say, but that what hath happened since in the affairs of the world, hath not contributed any thing to make the condition of the peace more easy. I wish your Highness could bring your judgment to agree with the King’s in this particular; because though I confess there may be difficulties even in that way, yet without it, they seem to be insurmountable, at least to me, who have not a judgment clear enough to see the way out of them; a little time will now shew what things must come to, and your Highness must needs know, that it is in peace that the King can be most useful to his allies. I pray God direct your Highness and all great persons concerned in it, to find out the means to preserve it.”

St. James’s, August 28, 1681.

Lettre

Lettre du Prince d' Orange au Roy d' Angleterre.

Saerdyk, Novembre 5, 1681.

“ J’Ay receu avec le respect que je dois, la lettre que votre Majesté m’a fait l’honneur de m’écrire par Monsieur Chudleigh. Il me sera tres facile à obeir à ces ordres, et pour persuader à l’Empereur et l’Espagne à la paix, puisque je la puis assurer de certain sience, qu’ils la souhaite autant que qui ce se soit, pourveu qu’elle soit generale ; et je ne crois pas que votre Majesté la voudroit autrement, puisqu’elle ne pouroit être d’aucune durée ; et que je suis tres persuadé que ce n’est ni l’interêt de votre Majesté, ni celui de cet état, qui ne but qu’a une paix sure et durable, à quoy ils contribueront ce qui sera en leur pouvoir, ainsi que je ferai aussi ; et quoique je sçay que la France me veut faire passer pour celui qui souhaite la guerre, j’espère que votre Majesté me fera la justice de n’y point ajouter de foy, quand elle voudra prendre la peine de considerer, qu’il n’y à présentement homme dans l’Europe, qui à un intérêt plus contraire, quand on considerera toutes les circonstances des choses. Je fus tres marré de voir qu’on à voulu persuader votre Majesté, comme s’il y avoit de ces alliés qui auroient l’imprudence de la vouloir menaçér, à la force à une guerre. Je ne puis croire que l’on pouvoit en trouver qui auroient été assez impertinents de tenir de tel langage : mais certainement ces sont des artifices de la France, qui indirectement à voulu le persuadera votre Majesté, pour les mettre mal avec beaucoup de raison dans son esprit. Je ne crois pas qu’il y a un de ces alliés qui voudroit engager votre Majesté, ou lui demander que ce qui est conformé au traités qu’ils ont avec elle ; au moins j’en puis repondre au regard de cet état, qui ne souhait rien plus que de pouvoir faire ce qui seroit agréable à votre Majesté, et lui temoigner l’attachement inviolable qu’ils auront pour ses intérêts, et qu’ils n’auront jamais falu que de
pouvoir

pouvoir contribuer à la grandeur et au pouvoir de votre Majesté, ce qui est aussi leur véritable intérêt, et de quoi ils ne partiront jamais. Pour moy, une des plus grandes mortifications que j'ay en ce monde, c'est de n'avoir jusqu'à présent eu aucune occasion pour faire voir votre Majesté mon véritable zèle pour son service et ses intérêts. J'espère qu'elle n'ajoutera jamais de foy aux personnes qui la voudroient persuader du contraire, n'y que l'on me pourroit faire à croire que votre Majesté ne me faisoit plus l'honneur d'avoir de l'amitié pour moy, comme je vois qu'elle soupçonne qu'il y arriveroit par la lettre qu'elle m'a fait la grace de m'écrire, puisque si long tems qu'elle m'assure le contraire, je ne pourois jamais avoir de telles pensées ; surtout voiant la bonté qu'elle a eu depuis peu de se vouloir bien intéresser aux violences que la France m'a faite à l'Orange, et j'espère qu'elle voudra bien continuer à me protéger, et à me faire avoir réparation et satisfaction de ce que j'y ai souffert si injustement. Si la nouvelle que je viens de recevoir est véritable, que la France m'a pris toute la principauté sous prétexte d'une vieille prétension de la maison de Longueville, je serai entièrement ruiné si votre Majesté ne m'assiste avec vigueur, et me fasse rendre ce que l'on me prend avec tant d'injustice, ce que j'attendrai de sa bonté et des assurances qu'elle me fait la grace de me faire de la continuation de son amitié ; et puisque je serai toute ma vie avec un profond respect son très humble et très obeissant neveu et serviteur."

Translation.

Translation.

Letter from the Prince of Orange to the King of England.—In answer to the King's interposing with him to get Spain to make peace with the loss of Luxembourg.—Endeavours to wipe off mutual suspicions.

Saerdyk, November 5, 1682.

I Have received with the respect that I ought, the letter which your Majesty did me the honour to write to me by Mr. Chudleigh: it will be very easy for me to obey your orders, and to persuade the Emperor and Spain to peace, since I can assure you from my certain knowledge, that they desire it, as much as any one can, provided it be general: and I do not believe that your Majesty would wish any other, since it could not be of any duration; and I am persuaded that any other is not the interest either of your Majesty, nor that of this state, which looks at nothing but a sure and durable peace, to which they will contribute all that is in their power, as I shall also do. And although I know that France endeavours to make me pass for one who wishes for war, I hope your Majesty will do me the justice not to credit it, when you take the pains to consider, there is not a man in Europe who has an interest more contrary to it, considering all the circumstances of things. I was very sorry to see endeavours made to persuade your Majesty that there were allies, who could have the imprudence to threaten to force you into a war. I cannot believe that any could be found who would have been impertinent enough to hold such language. But assuredly, these are the artifices of France, which has indirectly endeavoured to persuade your Majesty of it, in order to put them in a bad light with much reason, in your imagination. I do not believe that there are any of these allies who would engage your Majesty, or ask you to do any thing but what is agreeable to the

treaties which they have with you. At least, I can answer with regard to this State, which desires nothing more than to do what is agreeable to your Majesty, and to testify the inviolable attachment they have to your interests, and that they will never fail to contribute to your Majesty's greatness and power, which is also their true interest, and from which they will never depart. With regard to me, one of the greatest mortifications which I have in the world is, that I have never till this time had any occasion to be able to make your Majesty see my true zeal for your service and your interests. I hope you will never give credit to persons who would persuade you to the contrary, or think they can make me believe that your Majesty does not do me the honour to have any longer a friendship for me, as I see you suspect will happen by the letter which you have done me the favour to write me, since it is so long ago that you have assured me of the contrary. I can never have such thoughts, especially when I see the goodness which you have lately had to interest yourself in the violences which France hath committed against me in Orange. And I hope that you will protect me, and get me reparation and satisfaction for what I have suffered so unjustly there. If the news which I have received be true, that France has taken all the principality of Orange, under pretence of an old pretension of the house of Longueville, I shall be entirely ruined if your Majesty does not assist me with vigour, and cause to be given back to me what has been taken with so much injustice. I expect this from your goodness, and the assurances which you do me the favour to give me of the continuation of your friendship, and because I shall be all my life with a profound respect, your most humble, and most obedient nephew, and servant.

In the course of the dispute with Spain about Luxembourg, France seized the Principality of Orange under pretence that it belonged to the house of Longueville.

gueville. Charles, as appears by the letter last cited, had flattered the Prince of Orange with his protection in that matter. However he never gave it.

On this head there are the three following letters among Lord Preston's dispatches, in Mr. Graham of Netherby's possession.

Lord Preston to Mr. Secretary Jenkins.—Has no orders to concur with the Dutch ambassador in asking redress about the Principality of Orange.

S I R,

Paris, Dec. 23, S. N. 1682.

I Have received two of yours of the 4th instant, S. V. in one of which you are pleased to let me know, that his Majesty would be glad to know what offices the Dutch ambassador would engage me in, in the affair of Orange. I acquainted you some time since, by one of the 28th of November last, that the Dutch ambassador had sent to me twice or thrice to know if I had received any orders in that affair; my answer was, that I had not, which was all that passed between us. I have seen him several times since, and he never of late hath said any thing to me of it; but I believe he might have heard from Holland, that the Prince was resolved to make application to his Majesty, and so he might imagine that I had received his commands in it. I have it from a good hand, that it is resolved, that Monsieur Heinsius shall come, but his journey is retarded at the present, till they know his Majesty's resolutions, it being hoped there, that I shall have his commands to act in concert with him. It is my duty to represent all things, as truly as I can; and I must tell you, that I believe no manner of success is to be hoped from any instances which may be made in that affair; for besides what is personal betwixt this King and the Prince, they do say that it is a private business, and that it doth no way regard the affairs of Europe; though in this case it may very justly be alledged, that since there is particu-

lar care taken of the Prince of Orange and his interests, by the treaty of Nimiguen, what hath been done against him of late, and the proceeding of the French at Orange, can be no other than a formal controversion of that treaty."

Lord Preston to Secretary Jenkins.—To the same purpose.

Paris, March 31, S. N. 1683.

"**T**HE Dutch ambassador brought Monsieur Heinsius the day after his arrival, to make me a visit. He asked me if I had received any orders to act in concert with him in the affair of Orange. I told him I had received none. He told me that his Majesty had promised that as soon as he had notice of his Monsieur Heinsius's arrival here, that I should have instructions in this affair, and that the States General had written to his Majesty to signify his departure. If his Majesty doth think of this, I must beg to have his punctual orders how far I am to engage with Monsieur Heinsius; and that if I am to join with him, we may present no memorials but such as are first seen and approved of by his Majesty. I see very well that it will be a business of volume and of trouble enough. Monsieur Spankheim hath orders also from the Elector of Brandenburg to act with Monsieur Heinsius.

Lord Preston to Mr. Secretary Jenkins.—The Dutch ambassador has no success.

S I R,

Paris, October 24, S. N. 1683.

Monsieur Heinsius finding that he can obtain nothing in this court, in the affair of Orange, did on Tuesday last demand his audience of Conge, and is preparing to leave this place in a few days.

France had indeed little reason to be afraid of the interposition of England upon the continent at this time. Barillon writes, April 2, 1682, that having warned Charles not to be drawn into a war against France, that Prince answered, '*Laissez moi faire. Je connois le peril dont je suis sorti; il ne fera pas aisé de me faire rentrer.*'—'Leave me to myself. I know the danger from which I have escaped; and it will not be easy to make me run into it again.'

In the Depot.

Soon after the secret treaty of the year 1681, between Charles and Louis, the Duke of York quitted his exile in Scotland, and came to attend his brother. Louis the XIVth, knowing the Duke's attachment to France, and the weight he might have in keeping his brother steady to the secret treaty, ordered Barillon to act in concert with him, and writ the following letter to the Duke.

Lettre du Roy au duc d'York.

Fevrier 18, 1682.

"**M**ON frere, j'ai appris par les dernieres lettres du Sieur Barillon, mon ambassadeur en Angleterre, que vous deviez vous rendre dans peu de jours à Newmarket auprès du Roy, mon frere; et cette nouvelle m'a été d'autant plus agréable, qu'outre l'intérêt que je prens a tout ce qui vous touche, par l'affection très sincere et très cordiale que j'ai pour vous; je vois bien aussi que vos conseils et votre fermeté seront dorenavant très nécessaires pour fortifier le Roy de la Grande Bretagne dans la resolution de se servir des moyens que je lui offre d'affermir la paix, et de rendre inébranlables les liaisons d'amitié, aux quelles vous avez tant contribué. Le dit Sieur Barillon vous instruira plus amplement de mes intentions; et je m'affure que vous ajouterez d'autant plus de créance a ce qu'il

vous dira de ma part, qu'il ne sauroit assez vous exprimer a quel point je desire de procurer votre satisfaction."

Translation.

Letter from Louis XIVth to the Duke of York, March 20, 1682, upon his return from Scotland.—Trusts to his keeping his brother firm to the late secret treaty.

"**M**Y brother, I have learnt by the last letters from Mr. Barillon, my ambassador in England, that you were to be in a few days at Newmarket with the King, my brother; this news was the more agreeable to me, as besides the interest I take in all that concerns you, through the sincere and cordial affection I bear you, I see also, that your councils and firmness will henceforth be very necessary to strengthen the King of Great Britain in the resolution to avail himself of the means I have offered him to confirm the peace, and render immoveable the ties of friendship, to which you have so much contributed. Mr. Barillon will more fully inform you of my intentions; and I assure myself you will the more readily believe what he shall say on my part, as he cannot express sufficiently to what a degree I wish to procure your satisfaction."

In King William's box and in Doctor Morton's hands, there are many letters from the Duke of York to the Prince of Orange, in the period between his return from Scotland, and the death of King Charles, concerning the disputes of France with Spain, and with the Prince of Orange. I print them all, and in the order of time, because by that means the effects of his connexions with France will best appear.

The Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Is to interest himself about the Principality of Orange.—Wishes for peace.

London, December 26, 1682.

THIS evening I received yours of the first of January, by which I am very sorry to find the ill usage you have still in the affair of Orange, and shall be sure this night, so soon as I can speak with his Majesty, to shew him your letter, and to press him to do his part, that those extraordinary proceedings may have an end; and should be glad all things in Christendom might end in peace and quietness. God be thanked, all things continue very quiet here, and are on the mending hand, and like to continue so; for, what news is here, you will have it from other hands, so that I need say no more, but that you shall always find me as kind to you as you can desire.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—To the same purpose.

London, January 8, 1683.

“**I** Have now received yours of the 12th, and did put his Majesty in mind again of your affair of Orange, who told me he would be sure to move in it when it should be a proper time. I agree with you, that no body has more reason to desire peace than yourself, and since you are of that mind, I hope you will take those measures that are necessary to obtain it; and though you need not separate from your allies, you may give them good advice, which I believe the Spaniards would follow, if you gave it them, they being no way prepared to make war; and I fear the Emperor will have enough to do to defend himself from the Turk. There is very little news stirring here at present, so that I have

no more to say, but that I shall always be as kind to you as you can desire.

The Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Differs from the Prince as to foreign politicks.

Windsor, August 14, 1683.

THIS last post brought me yours of the 16th from Dieren, by which I am very well pleased to find you were so well satisfied with the freedom I had used with M. Bentinck, and with the assurance I had given him of my real kindness to you; and though we differ in our opinions as to affairs on your side of the water, (which I am sorry for,) that shall not alter my kindness to you: for people may be very good friends, I think, though they may differ in point of judgment, as well in matter of state, as religion. As for news there is none stirring here at present, all things being very quiet; so that I shall say no more but that you shall still find me as kind to you as you can desire.

The Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Blames the Spaniards for not accepting Charles's mediation.—Bitterness against the late conspirators.

Winchester, Sept. 2, 1683.

I Had not time to write to you by the last post, to let you know I had received yours of the 2d of September, for it was late before I came hither on Thursday, so that except I had written that night, which I was really too sleepy to do, I could not do it till now, the post going very early from hence in the morning. I had, before I received yours, heard of the French troops being to march into Flanders; and since the Spaniards will not save all by demolishing of Luxembourg, I do not see what is to be done. 'Tis what they might have long expected, and I believe it had happened sooner had not the King interposed; and if
where

where you are, people had been of this mind, and the arbitration had been accepted of, this invasion had not been, and all Christendom had been in peace, and free to have assisted the Emperor against the Turk. We have as great devils to deal with here, for though some of the conspirators have been taken and executed, yet that party are as malicious and fiery as ever : so that we here must look to ourselves, and not engage in any war beyond sea. The weather has been very fair ever since we left Windsor, and I hope we shall now have a sett of fair weather which will be very necessary here. I am to hunt tomorrow in the New Forest ; and have no more to say, but that you shall always find me as kind to you as you can desire.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—To the same purpose about Spain.

Winchester, Sep. 9, 1683.

I See by yours of the 10th, which I received on Friday after I came from Portsmouth, that you were come back to the Hague, upon the news of the march of the French into Flanders, to consider what was to be done upon it. I could have wished the Spaniards would have taken other measures to have prevented it, which they might have done, and not have put so hard a task on their allies to help them, against so powerful a prince, as they have now to deal with, without hazarding all as they now do. I find by it you were to go to adjust matters with the Marquis de Grane ; and by the last letters which came from the Hague, that you was gone from thence to that purpose ; so that before this you will, I believe, have heard what is become of Vienn ; and have taken your final measures with him. I waited on his Majesty to Portsmouth on Wednesday last, and came back with him on Friday ; the voyage thither was to see that place, which is now in a pretty good condition, and the new ships that have been built there,
which

which are very good ones. I have now no more to say, but that you shall always find me very kind to you.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Anxious for peace with France.—Algernon Sidney's Trial.

London, Nov. 9, 1683.

“**L**AST night I received yours by Mr. Borstel of the 9th, and had before heard of the good news of the taking of Grane; and am as sorry as any body can be that the war is begun in Flanders, and wish that while the winter lasts, some means of accommodation may be found, that all Christendom may be in peace. As for this country all things go on very well, and Algernon Sidney has been tryed by the grand jury, the bill found against him, and Wednesday come se’nnight appointed for his tryal. I was this day a fox-hunting, and since that at the council, so that now I have not time to say more, it being late, only to assure you that you shall still find me as kind to you as ever.”

The Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—To the same purpose.

London, April 7, 1684.

“**I** Find by yours of the 11th that you are troubled at the last answer you had from the King concerning the proposals had been made to him by Mr. Citters, and we here are troubled that none of the proposals made by the French have been hearkened unto, nor none made to them, which might probably be accepted by them, there being nothing more desired; here, than that all Christendom might be in peace, which I fear will hardly be brought about, now that the King of France sets out so soon for the army. As for news there is a rich East India ship come in, and has brought a good account of the concerns of our company in those

those parts, as to the interlopers, which went thither. I am a-going this afternoon for Windsor; and so have not time to say more, but that you shall still find me as kind to you as you can desire.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Anxious for peace with France.—Severity against the conspirators.

Windsor, April 15, 1684.

SINCE my coming last hither from London I received yours of the 18th, and though we have had some good days since we first came hither, am one of those who think 'tis too soon in the year to be at this place; yesterday and the day before were very warm, but this day is cold again; to-morrow I am to go to London for two or three days, where one Halloway, one of the conspirators, is to be tryed, though he might have been hanged without that ceremony, having been taken and already outlawed, but this way is chosen to make more public what he has confessed of that damnable conspiracy. I am glad to find by our Flanders letters that the Spaniards begin to hearken to such a truce as was proposed by France. I wish all their allies may be of the same mind, and then there may be hopes of having a peace, which is very much wished for here, and ought to be in my mind every where else, which is all I shall say now, and assure you, you shall still find me as kind as ever to you.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Pretends to be displeased with the taking of Luxembourg.

London, May 30, 1684.

I Had not yours of the 30th, which should have come to me the post before, till Tuesday last, and that so late that I could not then answer it. I believe soon after you had written it, you had the news of the taking of
Luxem-

Luxembourg: sure it was a great neglect in the Spaniards to have so few men in it, especially since they looked on it as a place of such consequence. I hope now they will make peace, and not lose all the rest of Flanders, as they have done that important town. As for what passes here, on Wednesday last, his Majesty was pleased to call me again to the great council; the Dutchess was very ill of the griping in the guts on Wednesday last, which obliged me to come back that day from Windsor, but now God be thanked she is quite well of that, and free from a feverish distemper that came with it, and I hope will be well enough to go to Windsor by the end of next week. To-morrow I intend to go thither, and I have not time to say more but to assure you, you shall find me as kind to you as you can desire.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Approves of the States advances of peace to France.

London, June 26, 1684.

Yesterday before I came from Windsor, I received yours of the 30th, by which I see you were a-going back to the Hague, and your troops to their several garrisons in Holland. I cannot be of your mind as to what the States have done, for I think they had nothing else to do, but to agree to what was proposed to them by France, as the only means to have a peace, which I am sure is the true interest of Holland as well as England, and therefore am glad at what they have done; and if the Spaniards be wise they ought to be so too, since by it Flanders is saved. The Dutchess intends for Tunbridge on Monday, my daughter the Princess of Denmark designs to go thither also, to keep her company, but not to take the waters: I am to go to-morrow early to Hampton-court to council, so that I write this night, fearing not to have time to-morrow.

It

It is late, and I must end, which I do with assuring you of my being as kind to you as ever.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Wishes France's offer of a twenty years truce to be accepted.

London, February 15, 1684.

THIS morning I had yours of the 18th, and by it I see you had had three pacquets from hence, but wanted some of an older date, which I hope at last will have got safe to you, though they were then missing. As for matters here, all things go very well and quietly, and his Majesty's authority encreases every day. I could wish with all my heart, that where you are, the French proposals of a truce for twenty years were hearkened to, being persuaded that would be much better for all Christendom than a war. The Newmarket journey is named for the first of March, which is all I shall say now, but to assure you of my being as bound to you as you can desire.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Partial to French terms of peace.—Newmarket races.

Newmarket, March 10, 1684.

IT was Saturday last before I received yours of the 10th, by which I see it had begun to freeze again, and I believe it continues to do so with you, for it does so here, and the wind has been north east ever since his Majesty's being here, which has much taken off from the diversions of this place, one being very sensible of cold in this place, and the frosts have been so hard, that one could not well hunt till near noon. I have been twice a fox hunting, and have had very good sport both times, for all it was so cold, there has been but one considerable horse race since we came; and on Wednesday the two famous horses *Dragon* and *Why-not* are to
run.

run. As for other news, this place affords none ; and God be thanked all things are very quiet in our country ; I am sorry they are not so on your side of the water. I see the King's answer to the proposals that were given him by Monsieur Citters from the Allies, was not then come to you, but long before this it is ; I could have wished they had been more reasonable, that some good might have come of them. I have no more to say at present, but to assure you, you shall still find me as kind to you as ever.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Anxious for peace with France,—partial to French terms.

London, March 25, 1684.

I Find by yours of the 29th from the Hague, that you were come back from the voyage you had made to Zeland and Antwerp. I hear by your letters, that you were making all the preparations for a war, and that you have sent more troops into Flanders, besides those you have already there ; but for all that, if what we hear from France be true, of the Empress having sent a courier into Spain to advise the acceptance of the truce, I will hope there may yet be a peace. I see by what you say, you are not satisfied with the answer his Majesty made to the proposals made by Mr. Citters in the name of the Allies ; I am sorry for it, since his Majesty can give no other answer. All things, God be thanked, go very well here, which is all I shall say now, but to assure you that I shall ever be as kind to you as you can desire.

Partly in King William's box, and partly in Doctor Morton's hands are many letters from the Duke of York to the Prince of Orange, concerning the invasion of the liberties of the City, and the Rye-house plot. I print all these also, and in the order of time.

Duke

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—The success in the city mortifying to the Whigs.

London, October 24, 1682.

I Had yours of the 23d at Newmarket before I came from thence, but could not answer sooner than now; I see by it you were sensibly touched with the loss I had made of my little daughter, which is but what I had reason to expect from you that are so concerned at all that happens to me. As for news, all things go very well here, and Pritchards has carried it against Gold and Cornish; to-morrow it is to be declared at the Common Hall, so that we shall have a good and loyal Lord Mayor, as well as two Sheriffs of the same stamp, which is a mighty mortification to the whigs. I have been at a play this day, and it is now late, so that I have not time to say more but this, you shall ever find me to be as kind to you as you can expect.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange. Verdict against Lord Gray and Pilkington mortifying to the seditious.

London, November 28, 1682.

I Have had your's of the first of December, and by it I see you had then taken no resolution as to Grietziel, but that by the next I might hear it. As for the news of this place you have already heard what has past as to Lord Gray and Pilkington last week, that I need not repeat again to you; what was done to the last has mortified very much that seditious and turbulent party which now lose ground every day. It is said Lord Shaftesbury is gone over into Holland; if it be so, you will have heard of it before this. I have now no more to say, but that you shall always find me as kind as you can desire.

Since the writing of this, I have had word brought me that Prince Rupert is so ill of a pleurisy that 'tis believed he will not outlive to-morrow.

Duke

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—His opinion of Shaftesbury and Lord Keeper North.

Windfor, December 18, 1682.

I Find by yours of the 22d, which I had yesterday at London, that Lord Shaftesbury was at Amsterdam, and do easily believe that you will have nothing to do with such a kind of man as he, that is so very great an enemy to all our family in general, as well as a particular one to me. I am told that many of the fanatic party flock to him, and no doubt, to his power he will do his part to do what harm he can to us. We came from London this morning, where I do not know whether the Lord Chancellor were alive or dead, he being speechless last night; 'tis believed that Lord Chief Justice North will succeed him, who is both able and bold, as well as very loyal. We have had hitherto a very gentle winter, and 'tis like to continue so. I have no more to say now, but that I shall ever be as kind as you can desire.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Monmouth owns the conspiracy.

London, November 27, 1683.

THOUGH you will hear the news I am going to tell you from other hands, 'tis too considerable a one for me not to write it to you; 'tis that the Duke of Monmouth on Saturday last, came and delivered himself up to the Secretary, and desired he might speak with the King and myself alone; so soon as the Secretary had advertised his Majesty, he went down to the Secretary, taking me along with him; where the Duke of Monmouth, after having asked his Majesty's pardon in the humblest manner imaginable, and owned his knowledge of the whole conspiracy, except that part of the assassination, asked pardon of me also, and said as much to me

me upon that subject as I could expect of him, with all the promises of his good behaviour for the future, a man could say : After his Majesty had heard all he had to say, he ordered the Secretary to put him into the custody of a Serjeant at Arms, till further pleasure ; the next day his Majesty ordered his release, and has ordered his pardon to be prepared, having pardoned him, and permits him to be at court again. Algernon Sidney's sentence was pronounced this day, and he will be soon beheaded; the day is not yet named. I have not time to say more now, but assure you, you shall still find me very kind to you.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange. Algernon Sidney's death and Monmouth's confession, will give the lie to the Whigs.

London, December 4, 1683.

I Have received yours of the seventh of this month, and before that had heard of the Prince de Montefartio being taken by the French near Toulon. As for news here, Algernon Sidney is to be beheaded on Friday next on the Tower-hill, which besides the doing justice on so ill a man, will give the lie to the whigs, who reported he was not to suffer. The Duke of Monmouth, also, I am told, will some way or other give them the lie, by owning in a more public way, than he has done yet, his knowledge of the conspiracy ; which that rebellious party, and some of his dependers, endeavoured to persuade the world he knew nothing of. Till this day we have had no considerable frost, but last night it froze so very hard, that this morning the boys began to slide upon the Canal in the Park, though last night at Sun set, there was not one bit of ice on it ; 'tis like to continue, the wind being north east, which is all I have to say now, but to assure you of my being as kind to you as ever.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Duke of Monmouth retracts.—Account of Algernon Sidney's death.

London, December 7, 1683.

I Believe you will be as much surpris'd with the news of the Duke of Monmouth's being ordered to go out of Whitehall, and not to appear in his Majesty's presence, as you were at his coming in, and being permitted to stay at court. His Majesty sent this morning the Vice Chamberlain with that message to him, being very much displeas'd with his not owning by a letter or paper under his hand, his knowledge of the conspiracy, as he had done it by word of mouth, to his Majesty and myself; besides which some of his servants and dependers reported every where, that what was in the Gazette concerning him was false, for that he had never owned any knowledge of the conspiracy, which disingenuous proceeding of his did so anger his Majesty, that it oblig'd him to shew his displeasure to him as no he has done; and now it is visible to all the world, that he only designed by his coming in, to get his pardon, and to keep his credit with his party still, both which he has now done; and though his coming in and being pardon'd as he was, has done some harm; I hope this good will come of it, that his Majesty will now never believe any thing he says again, and then he can do but little harm. Algernon Sidney was beheaded this day, died very resolutely, and like a true rebel and republican. I have not time to say more, but that you shall still find me as kind as ever to you.

Duke

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Monmouth in disgrace.—The Duke of York vexed at war breaking out against France again.

London, December 14, 1683.

I Received yesterday yours of the 18th, and by it see you were surpris'd with the news of the Duke of Monmouth's being come to court, and believe you were no less surpris'd with his behaviour since, and what happened to him upon it, of all which I have already given you an account. On Wednesday his Majesty told the council all that had pass'd in that affair of the Duke of Monmouth, and shew'd them the letter he would have had that Duke have sign'd, and order'd the letter, and what he had said to be register'd in the council books, to satisfy the world of the truth of all that past, and that the Duke of Monmouth had own'd to him the knowledge of all the conspiracy, except the assassinating part, of which he said he knew nothing; and after the Duke of Monmouth's behaviour, it was necessary for his Majesty to say what he did in council. Before I had had your last letter, I had heard of the Spaniards having declared war against France; I was sorry to hear it, being an enemy to war, and fear most of you on your side of the water will be engag'd in it. We here shall keep out on't, I hope, as well as we can, for we will not be drawn into it, having enough to do at home. Mr. Chudleigh, as Lord Sunderland tells me, will have a copy of the letter I have mentioned sent to him, which when you have seen, you will, I believe, wonder he, the Duke of Monmouth, refused to sign it; which is all I shall say now, and assure you, you shall find me as kind to you as ever.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—His opinion of Algernon Sidney's last Speech, and of the Duke of Monmouth.

London, January 4, 1684.

I Have received yours of the 4th, and by it see you had read Algernon Sidney's paper, and though it was a very treasonable and insolent one, yet, 'twas thought fit to have it printed, that the world might see what his principles were, and what both he, and the rest of the conspirators drove at, and its being published has really done good. His trial also is come out, and I have sent it to my daughter, by one who goes with the packet boat. I do very easily believe you were surprised at the extraordinary carriage of the Duke of Monmouth, and since he was no truer a convert, 'twas very well he shewed himself so soon, for had he staid and dissembled, he might have done much mischief; but now he can do but little, for all the world is now satisfied, he is never to be trusted, and then he has all his vain fancies in his head. 'Tis not now certain where he is, his wife and some others of his friends say, he is gone beyond sea, and by a letter out of Zealand, they give an account of two English gentlemen which landed there, and went for Antwerp, and by the description they make of them, one of them should be he; if he be in Flanders, I suppose by that time you have this you will have heard of it. Poor Lord St. Alban's died on Wednesday last, and I believe by this Lord Peters, who has lain so long in the Tower, is dead also; for at noon he was speechless. The weather is so very sharp and the frost so great, that the river here is quite frozen over, so that for these three days last past, people have gone over it in several places, and many booths are built upon it between Lambeth and Westminster, where they roast meat and sell drink. This is all the news I have to tell you now, and so shall end, with assuring you, that you shall find me as kind as ever to you.

Duke

*Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Complains of his
seeing the Duke of Monmouth.*

Windſor, May 20, 1684.

I Had your's of the 23d laſt week, but not time enough to answer it by the laſt poſt. I ſee by it you were come back from Vilvord, and had received one I wrote to you at the ſame time his Maſteſty did, to which I ſee by the answer you have returned, there is no more to be ſaid at preſent. I find by the ſame letter, that the Duke of Monmouth had been to ſee you : I do not at all wonder that he did not ſend to advertiſe you of his coming to you, but do think it odd enough for him to preſent himſelf to you, after his having been engaged in ſo horrid a conſpiracy, for the alteration of the government, and the ruin of the King and our Family ; and his refuſing ſince he had his pardon to own that under his hand, which he confeſſed to the king, I being by, is ſure in itſelf, as offenſive to his Maſteſty and myſelf, as any thing can be, and ſhews he did it to keep up his credit with his rebellious party, and his vain prétentions to the crown. For what elſe could have made him reſuſe to ſign, what he had owned himſelf to the King and me, which is the greateſt reflection imaginable upon both of us, as if he had not owned that to us, which his Maſteſty required him to ſign ? When I began my letter, I did not think to have ſaid ſo much to you concerning the Duke of Monmouth ; and let him give what reaſons he pleaſes for the occaſion of his being at Bruxelles, I can never truſt to what he ſays or believe him, and I think you will be to blame if you do. There is little news ſtirring amongſt us, all things being very quiet, ſo that I have no more to ſay, but that you ſhall ſtill find me as kind to you as you can deſire.

Duke of York to the Princess of Orange.—Complains of her husband for seeing Lord Brandon, and the Duke of Monmouth.

Windsor, June 9, 1684.

I Had not your's of the 9th till Wednesday, by which I find you have received mine. I wrote to you upon the subject of Lord Brandon, and I easily believe, that you might have forgotten for what he had been in the Tower, yet others could not be ignorant of it, nor have so short memories ; and I must need tell you, it scandalises all loyal and monarchical people here, to know how well the Prince lives with, and how civil he is to the Duke of Monmouth, and Lord Brandon ; and it heartens exceedingly the factious party here, which are a sort of people that one would think, the Prince should not shew any countenance to ; and in this affair methinks you might talk with the Prince ; (though you meddle in no others) the Duke of Monmouth, Lord Brandon, and the rest of that party, being declaredly my mortal enemies. And let the Prince flatter himself as he pleases, the Duke of Monmouth will do his part, to have a push with him for the crown, if he, the Duke of Monmouth, outlive the King and me. Some posts since I wrote pretty freely to the Prince upon this subject in general, to which I have yet had no answer : However, it will become you very well to speak to him of it. I was yesterday a stag-hunting for the first time, and came hither after it ; to-morrow I am to dine at Richmond with the Dutchess, and come back with her to this place. I have no more to say at this time, but to assure you, you shall find me as kind to you as you can desire.

Duke

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—One conspirator tried, and another to be tried.

St. James's, Nov. 18, 1684.

LAST night I had your's of the 21st from the Hague, where I find you intend to stay all this winter. It began yesterday to freeze again, which hindered me from hunting, and it has frozen very hard again the last night, and I fear it will continue, the wind being got into the cold corner; and if Mr. Citters do not come soon away, he may chance to be frozen up there. This day one Roswell a Presbyterian minister was tried, for preaching a seditious sermon at a conventicle, and found guilty of high treason; on Friday one Hays of the same rebellious tribe is to be tried for corresponding with Sir Thomas Armstrong, and furnishing him with money; which is all I shall say now, but to assure you of my being as kind to you as you can expect.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Believes Monmouth is in England.

St. James's, Dec. 2, 1684.

LAST night when I came from hunting I received your's of the 5th, and at the same time had letters of the 8th from Holland, so that if Mr. Citters keep his time of setting out from thence you mentioned in your's, he may be arrived here by this, and when he comes I shall know what it is you have to say by him. The weather has been very uncertain, but now it looks as if it would sett into freeze. As for news, there is little returning amongst us, all things being very quiet here; what is most talked on is, about the Duke of Monmouth to know where he is; 'tis believed he is here for several reasons, besides that he was neither in Hol-

land nor Flanders when the last letters came from thence. I have been at the artillery feast in the city, and its now late ; so that I have not time to say any more, but to assure you, you shall still find me as kind to you as you can expect.

In the *Deport.*

Amidst the dark and mischievous cloud of policy which the dispatches at Versailles shew France had spread over England, during the reign of Charles II. I was happy to see the tenderness of the friend, and the generosity of the Monarch shine athwart. From Barillon's letter of 19th July, 1683, it appears that upon Lord Ruffel's condemnation, the younger Rouvigny, who was a relation to the Bedford family, and had been obliged to it for every hospitable civility in England, begged the life of his friend from Louis the XIVth ; that Louis consented to write to Charles in favour of Lord Ruffel ; that Barillon told Charles, Rouvigny was coming over with the letter ; but that Charles with a polite inhumanity answered : " Je ne veux pas empêcher que Monsieur de Rouvigny ne vienne pas ici, mais Milord Ruffel aura le col coupé avant qu'il arrive." " I do not wish to prevent Monsieur de Rouvigny from coming here, but my Lord Ruffel's head will be off before he arrives."

Men who look into the true, because the secret sources of history to be found in the writings of the actors of the times, will generally find them filled with the animosities of their ancestors against each other, and upon that account many of those who are called prudent men, and who think themselves so, are apt to say that a veil had better be drawn over them. Yet in inquiries of this kind we shall always find, even amidst the fiercest contentions of party, a degree of private virtue on which the mind of the inquirer reposes itself with joy. The descendents of Lord Ruffel will feel
pleasure

pleasure in hearing that Lord Dartmouth, though of all others the most personally attached to Charles and James, and the most interested in any misfortune which could befall them, begged the life of Lord Ruffel from that sovereign whom he had offended. Strangers to these families will read it with pleasure, because it confirms one of the most pleasing of all truths, that tenderness of mind and courage go continually together. In the manuscript notes upon Bishop Burnet's history by the Earl of Dartmouth, secretary of state to Queen Anne, which the present Earl of Dartmouth was so good as to shew me, there is the following passage.

“ My father told the King, the pardoning of Lord Ruffel would lay an eternal obligation upon a very great and numerous family, and the taking his life would never be forgotten ; and his father being alive it would have little effect upon the rest of the family besides resentments ; and certainly there was some regard due to Lord Southampton's daughter, and her children. The King answered, All that is true ; but it is as true, that if I do not take his life he will soon have mine ; which would admit of no reply.”

Observation on
Burnet, p. 556.

The petitions of the Earl of Bedford and of Lord Ruffel to King Charles, for Lord Ruffel's life, mentioned in the Memoirs, are in these words.

To the King's most excellent Majesty.

The humble petition of William Earl of Bedford,

Humbly sheweth ;

THAT could your Petitioner have been admitted into your presence, he would have laid himself at your royal feet in behalf of his unfortunate son, himself and his distressed and disconsolate family, to implore your royal mercy ; which he never had the presumption to think could be obtained by any indirect means. But shall think himself, wife, and children, much happier to be left but with bread and water, than

than to lose his dear son for so foul a crime as treason against the best of Princes, for whose life he ever did, and ever shall pray more than for his own.

May God incline your Majesty's heart to the prayers of an afflicted old father, and not bring gray hairs with sorrow to my grave.

B E D F O R D.

To the King's most excellent Majesty.

The humble Petition of William Russell,

Most humbly sheweth ;

TH A T your petitioner does once more cast himself at your Majesty's feet, and implores, with all humility, your mercy and pardon, still avowing that he never had the least thought against your Majesty's life, nor any design to change the government ; but humbly and sorrowfully confesses his having been present at those meetings, which he is convinced were unlawful and justly provoking to your Majesty ; but being betrayed by ignorance and inadvertence, he did not decline them as he ought to have done, for which he is truly and heartily sorry ; and therefore humbly offers himself to your Majesty to be determined to live in any part of the world which you shall appoint, and never to meddle any more in the affairs of England, but as your Majesty shall be pleased to command him.

May it therefore please your Majesty,

To extend your royal favour and mercy to your petitioner, by which he will be for ever engaged to pray for your Majesty, and to devote his life to your service.

WILL. RUSSELL.

It is probable that Charles was not ignorant of a fact hinted at by Algernon Sidney, at his trial ; to wit, that he had been the cause of preventing a scheme to assassinate the King in his youth. From two letters of Colbert to his own court, dated 4th, and 25th August, 1670, it appears, that the French court gave information to Charles, of Sidney's being then at Paris, and desired to know how they should act with regard to him ; that Lord Arlington proposed to Charles, that a pension should be given by France to Mr. Sidney, because he was in straits ; and that Charles consented to it. Charles at first also agreed, that he should be at liberty to continue at Paris, but afterwards charged his mind, and desired he might be removed from it. The prescience which Charles, even in the plenitude of his power at this period, had of the consequence of this man, then an exile, and in want, is sweetly flattering to those who enjoy this our Temple of Liberty, because it shews, that the true greatness of every individual depends upon himself. Upon this head Colbert, in his letter of 4th August, 1670, relates Charles's expressions with regard to Sidney, thus: " Le Roy (Charles) me dit encore, qu'il ne se soucioit pas que le dit Sidney demeuroit en Paris ou Languedoc, ou en tel autre lieu qu'il lui plairoit, pourvu qu'il ne revient pas en Angleterre, ou dit il ses pernicious sentimens soutenus d'autant d'esprit et de courage qu'il en a pourroient beaucoup nuire."—" The King (Charles) said to me again, that he did not care whether the said Sidney lived in Paris, Languedoc, or any other place he pleased, provided he did not return to England, where, said he, his pernicious sentiments, supported with so great parts and courage, might do much hurt." And in Colbert's letter of 25th August, 1670, he says, Charles said to him of Sidney, " qu'il etoit à propos de le laisser retourner en Languedoc, et qu'il ne pouvoit être trop loin de l' Angleterre."—" That it was proper to let him return to Languedoc,

In the *Deport.*

In the *Deport.*

and

and that he could not be too far from England." And in other letters I observed, that wherever Charles spoke of Sidney, he called him "un homme de cœur et d'esprit:" which may be translated "a man of principle and judgment."

In King William's box, there is in Lord Portland's hand-writing, the following copy of a letter from the Prince of Orange to him, concerning the Prince's having seen the Duke of Monmouth and Lord Brandon, after the Rye-house Plot.

The Prince of Orange to Monsieur Bentinck.

A la Haye, ce 7 Juillet, 1684.

"**I**L y a longtems que je ne vous ay pas importuné de mes lettres, n'ayant eu rien de bon à vous écrire sur les affaires publiques, qui ont presentement pris le chemin que vous savez, mais je ne peux me dispenser maintenant de vous donner part d'une affaire qui m'est arrivée. Il y a deux jours que Monsieur Chudleigh m'est venu dire qu'il avoit ordre du Roy, de me témoigner que sa Majesté trouvoit mauvais que j'avois veu Monsieur le Duc de Monmouth et Mylord Brandon; et après lui avoir dit mes raisons que je ne croyois pas d'avoir failli en cela, il me fait une reprimande de ce que j'avois fait faire des civilites à l'armée à Monsieur le Duc de Monmouth, d'une maniere si insolente, et m'advouant qu'il n'en avoit point d'ordre; que si je n'avois pas eu consideration pour son caractère, je ne l'aurois pas souffert comme je l'ay fait. Il en a usé a mon egard en diverses occasions fort impertinément, etant un fort sot et impertinent homme; mais je ne m'en suis pas voulu plaindre, ni aussi en ce rencontre, sachant bien qu' en cette conjoncture je n'aurois pas été écouté. J'ay creu vous en devoir seulement informer, afin que si vous le juges nécessaire, et que vous en ayez

ayez l'occasion, vous en puissiez donner connoissance à sa Majesté, comme aussi de ce que je ne crois pas d'avoir donné sujet à sa Majesté d'être mal satisfait de moy d'avoir veu Monsieur le Duc de Monmouth et Mylord Brandon. Le premier est son fils, à qui il a pardonné ce qu'il pouvoit avoir commis; et quoi qu'il l'ait fait éloigner de sa présence, je scay que dans le fond du coeur il a toujours quelque amitié pour lui, et que le Roy ne peut être fâché que je lui aye fait des civilités. Pour l'autre, il est vray qu'il a été dans la Tour, mais il a été mis en liberté sans qu'il n'y a rien de prouvé contre lui, à moins que je scay. Je vous assure que je ne voudrois jamais voir, bien moins donner quelque sorte de protection, à des gens qui auroient commis aucune crime contre sa Majesté. Je suis trop attaché par devoir et inclination à son service, pour lequel je n'épargnerai ni vie ni bien, dont je vous prie d'assurer sa Majesté quand vous le jugerez convenable, et ne pas trouver mauvais cette peine que je vous donne; mais l'amitié, &c.

Translation.

Complaints of Chudleigh's insolence.—His reasons for seeing the Duke of Monmouth, and Lord Brandon.

Hague, 7th July, 1684.

“IT is a long time since I troubled you with my letters, having nothing good to write you about public affairs, which have taken the turn you know of; but I cannot help communicating to you an affair which has happened to me. Two days ago, Mr. Chudleigh came to tell me, that he had an order from the King to inform me, that his Majesty took ill my having seen the Duke of Monmouth and Lord Brandon; and after having given him my reasons why I did not think I had been in the fault, he gave me a reprimand for the honours of war which I had caused to be paid to the Duke of Monmouth, in a manner so insolent, and at the same time owning that he had no order for it, that if I had not had consideration for his character, I would not

not have suffered it as I did. He has behaved, on many occasions, very impertinently with regard to me, being a very foolish and impertinent man. But I have not liked to complain of it, not even upon this occasion, knowing well that in the present conjuncture I should not have been listened to. I thought it right to inform only you of it, that if you think it necessary, and see an occasion, you may let his Majesty know of it, as also that I do not think I have given any occasion for his being dissatisfied with me for seeing the Duke of Monmouth and Lord Brandon. The first is his son, whom he has pardoned for the faults which he may have committed; and though he has removed him from his presence, I know that in the bottom of his heart, he has always some friendship for him, and that the King cannot be angry with him. With regard to the other, it is true he has been in the Tower, but he was set at liberty without any thing having been proved against him, at least so far as I know. I assure you that I would never see, much less give any sort of protection to people who have committed any crime against his Majesty. I am too much attached by duty and inclination to his service, to do it, for which service I will spare neither my life nor my fortune. Of which I intreat you to assure his Majesty when you think proper, and not take amiss the trouble which I now give you."

Lord Keeper Guildford describes thus the impression which the discovery of the Rye-house Plot made upon the minds of the people.

Extract from Lord Guildford's Manuscript, page 7.

"ONE observation I then made of the temper of the time: that whereas before there was never any discovery made at Whitehall, but presently there was a counter report, the witness was be-rogued, and pamphlets

pamphlets came daily out to outface the business; now all was as dumb as could be, all the Whigs hung down their heads, and said, If there be such villainy, in God's name let all concerned suffer for it; and there was not one seditious pamphlet came out for a good while, hardly till the Lord Russell's execution."

From Barillon's dispatches in the *Depot* at Versailles, it appears, that after the Rye-house Plot, King Charles and the Duke of York were on the very worst terms with the Prince of Orange; that they even suspected him of having encouraged that part of it in which the great men were engaged; that they refused a visit which he offered them; and that, when Van Citters was sent by the Prince of Orange in the end of the year 1684, to vindicate his conduct from the different accusations brought against it, he was received with coldness.

The following letters, in King William's box, from the Duke of York at that time to the Prince, correspond with Barillon's relations.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Much out of humour with him.

London, October 3, 1684.

I Have had your's of the 2d, and you may be sure that I shall do my part in what concerns you, but it is necessary you do your's to satisfy the King; and pray consider, whether he has had reason to be satisfied with several things you have done for some time past. I could say more to you upon this subject, but am not encouraged to do it, since I have found that you have had so little consideration for things I have said to you, which I thought of concern to our family, though you did not; which is all I have time to say at present, and shall still be as kind to you as you can expect.

Duke

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Answers with indifference to the apology for the Prince's conduct, with which Van Citters was charged.

St. James's, Dec. 12, 1684.

YESTERDAY morning I had your's by Sir Gabriel Silvius, and last night another from you by M. Citters. He had some discourse with me about what you had charged him with; he told me he had given the King an account of it also, and I suppose will write you word what his Majesty said to him upon it, which is all I can say at present of that affair, till I have discoursed with him more upon it. I am glad to find that both you and my daughter are satisfied with Sir Gabriel, and you may be sure I will shew him what kindness I can, when any occasion offers, and have now no more to add, but to assure you, you shall still find me as kind to you as you have reason to expect.

The Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—To the same purpose.

St. James's, Dec. 26, 1684.

I Had yours of the 26th on Wednesday, and as to what M. Citters had to say here, he will have before this given you an account of it, so that I need not repeat it to you. As for news, we have had five East India ships arrived this week in the river, which is very well for our company. The last packet-boat which came from Calais, was sunk accidentally by a Dutch ship bound for Zealand, running against her in the night; all the seamen and upwards of thirty passengers were saved by the Dutch ship, only four passengers were lost, with the two mails from France, and all the goods and eleven horses which were on board; which is all I have

have to say now, but to assure you, you shall still find me as kind to you as you can expect.

The Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Out of humour with the Prince.—Account of Bailey of Jerviswood's execution.

Whitehall, Jan. 2, 1684.

I Had this night after I came from the play your's of the 9th, in which you repeat to me what was in your's of the 2d. To both which, all I can say is, that it is necessary you do your part, before you can expect the King can be satisfied with you. As for news, one Bailey of Jerviswood, one of the conspirators that was taken here, and sent to Scotland, being a Scotchman, was hanged, drawn, and quartered there last week, as being found guilty of it, by sufficient witnesses. It is so late, that I have not time to say more; and you may be sure I shall be as kind to you as you have reason to expect.

All true Englishmen were unhappy at the differences between Charles and the Prince of Orange. Among others who wrote to the Prince of Orange on this subject, Lord Godolphin took the liberty to do it.

Lord Godolphin to the Prince of Orange.—Laments his differences with King Charles.

Whitehall, April 18, 1684.

I T was with abundance of joy and satisfaction that I received the honour of your Highness's letter, and the assurance you are pleased to give me, that you still preserve some remembrance of me, and some remainder of that goodness which you have expressed to me on so many occasions. I will not trouble your Highness with

In King William's Box.

any compliments, knowing very well how little you care for them. But I imagine your Highness will easily believe, I am extremely and particularly sensible of our general unhappiness from the want of that right understanding between the King and your Highness, which is so necessary for both your interests, that I should hope, and most humbly beseech your Highness, that you would never lose any occasion of endeavouring to restore yourself to that kindness and affection which the King is so naturally inclined to have for you. I dare not presume to enter into particulars, or to trouble your Highness with my reasonings upon this subject: I beg only that you will be pleased to preserve me some small place in your favourable thoughts, which I shall study to deserve on all occasions, as becomes your Highness's most obedient, humble, and most faithful servant,

S. GODOLPHIN.

The apathy of the Duke of York's character is strongly marked in the two following letters to one of his friends, on two very interesting subjects, to wit, the Earl of Argyle's condemnation, and the Duke of Monmouth's mercy to the Covenanters. With regard to the first he writes thus:

“Edinburgh, Dec. 13, 1681. Lord Argyle's trial began yesterday, and their forms in the justice court are so tedious, that they could not make an end of it then, but will as I believe this evening: and have reason to believe the jury will find the bill and not *ignoramus*; and that little Lord will be once again at his Majesty's mercy.

Since I wrote this, I have had an account, that the jury, of which Marquis of Montrose was Chancellor, as they call them here, have found Lord Argyle guilty of treason, and other crimes, so that he is absolutely in his Majesty's hands.”

And with regard to the Duke of Monmouth's mercy to the Covenanters, the Duke of York writes thus
from

from Edinburgh :—" I find the generality of the best men here, much troubled at the indulgence the Duke of Monmouth got for the Fanatics here, after they had been beaten; and say it will encourage them to another rebellion."

It is very singular, that in all the Duke of York's printed letters in this Appendix, and in above an hundred more, which are either in King William's box, or in Doctor Morton's possession, there is scarcely one stroke either of genius or of sensibility to be found.

But while we form a judgment of James's character from intrinsic evidence, that of his own letters, let us not condemn him by the lies of party. Bishop Burnet, in giving an account of the Duke's shipwreck, in the year 1682, imputes the loss of above one hundred persons of the noblest blood in Britain, to the insensibility of the Duke of York and Lord Dartmouth; and would have it believed, that while the Duke neglected his friends, he saved his dogs and his priests.

I have fortunately copies of two letters which disprove the imputation; one of which I got from Sir Alexander Dick of Priestfield, and the other from the present Earl of Dartmouth, the grandsons of the persons who wrote the letters.

Sir James Dick of Priestfield, Lord Provost of Edinburgh, to Mr. Patrick Ellis, merchant in London.—Account of the Duke's shipwreck.

S I R,

May 9, 1682.

U P O N Sunday last at eight o'clock at night, his Royal Highness and his retinue, that were alive, arrived safe here, there being a most sad disaster upon the Saturday before. At seven o'clock in the morning,

the man of war called the Gloucester, Sir John Berry, captain, where his Highness was, and a great retinue of noblemen and gentlemen, whereof I was one; the said ship did strike in pieces, and did wholly sink, upon the bank of sand called the Lemon and Orre, about some twelve leagues from Yarmouth. This was occasioned by the wrong calculation and ignorance of a pilot, which put us all in such consternation, that we knew not what to do, the Duke, and the whole that were with him, being all in bed when she first struck; the helm of the said ship having broke, and the man being killed by the force thereof, at the said first stroke. When the Duke had got his clothes on, he enquired how things stood, she being sunk nine feet of water in her hold, and the sea fast coming in at the gun-ports, and all the seamen and passengers were not at command, every man studying his own safety, forced the Duke to go out at the large window of the cabin, where his little boat was ordained quietly to attend him, lest the passengers and seamen should have thronged so in upon him, as to drown the boat; which was accordingly so conveyed, as that none but Earl Winton, and the President of the Session, with two of his bed-chamber men went with him, but were forced to draw their swords to hold people off. We seeing his Highness gone, did cause tackle out with great difficulty the ship's boat, wherein the Earl Perth got in, and then I went by jumping off the shrouds into the boat; the Earl Middleton immediately after me did jump into the same upon my shoulders; withal there came the Laird of Touch, with several others, besides the seamen that were to row, which we thought a sufficient number for her loading, considering there was going such a great sea, occasioned by the wind N. E. and that we saw that at the Duke's boat there was another overwhelmed by reason of the greatness of the sea, which drowned the whole in her except two men whom we saw riding upon her keel, which they say were saved. This made us desire to be gone, but before we were aware there

leapt

leapt from the shrouds about 20 or 24 seamen in upon us, which made all the spectators and us to think we were sinking; but not being able to come at, being so thronged, and all having given us over for lost, did hinder 100 more to leap in upon us. Among them that were left were my lord Roxburg and Laird Hopeton, and Mr. Littledale, Roxburgh's servant, and Dr. Levingston, and the President of sessions man; all being at the place where I jumped would not follow, since it seems they concluded more safety to stay in the vessel, than to expose themselves to any other hazard, all which persons in an instant were washed off and all drowned. There perished in this disaster above 200 persons; for I reckoned there were above 250 seamen, and I am sure there were 80 noblemen and gentlemen, their servants being excluded: my computation was we were about 330 in all, of which I cannot understand 130 to be found.

Our difficulties and hazards that were in that boat were wonderful to be all saved, for if they had not thought us all dead men I am sure there would have many more jumped into the boat above us, for we were so throng we had no room to stand; so when we were forcing ourselves off the ship, she being sinking by degrees, all the time was like to sink our boat down, and besides the waves were so boisterous that we were like to be struck in pieces upon the wreck so sinking: this was not but with great difficulty we forced out the boat from the ship; and when we came to row to the nearest yacht the waves were such and we overloaded that we every moment thought to have been drowned; and being about mid way to the yachts, there were a great many swimming for their lives, who caught all a dead gripe of our boat, holding up their heads above water crying Help; which hindrance was kept off and their hands loosed, telling them they would both lose themselves and us. This would not do to make them loose their grips; but they were forced by several in our boat, except one that took hold of me which I

caused catch into the boat, lest I should have been pulled down; and when it pleased God to bring us wonderfully to one of the yacht's sides, being much less as one quarter mile distant they not daring come nearer by reason of the bank of sand upon which we were lost. And if it had not been that there had been guns shot from our ship, shewing them our distress by that sign, the other men of war that were immediately following would have come into that same disaster, but they immediately did bear off, and the four yachts came up as near as they durst, and sent off their boats to help; but all that could be done could not prevent this great loss of 200 men, as I have said.

I was in my gown and slippers lying in bed when she first struck, and escaped as I have said in that condition, when unexpectedly and wonderfully we came to the yacht's side called captain Saunders; we were like to be crushed in pieces by the yacht, which by reason of the great seas was like to run us down, till at length a rope was cast which was so managed that we came to the lee side, and there every man clam for his life, and so did I taking hold of a rope, and so made shift upon the sides till I came within men's reach, when at last I was hauled in: When I looked back I could not see one bit of the whole great ship above water, but about a Scotch ell of the staff, upon which the royal standard stood, for with her striking she came off the sand bank which was but three fathom, and her draught was 18 feet, so there was 18 fathom water on each side where she struck, for she broke in the deepest place. Now if she had continued on the three fathom, and broke in pieces there, all would have had time to save themselves; but such was the misfortune, that she wholly overwhelmed and washed all into the sea that were upon her decks expecting relief by boats which certainly would have been if she had but staid half an hour more.—So that to conclude this melancholy account, all the above persons our countrymen that were of respect I have told.—There are of Englishmen

men of respect dead, my Lord Obrien, and my Lord Hyde's brother, who was lieutenant of the ship.— There are a number of noblemen and gentlemen's servants dead which I cannot name, but I hardly can speak with any but they have lost of servants either more or less. God make me thankful for this wonderful deliverance! Notwithstanding of the disasters his Highness has met with in this last sea voyage, yet he designs within five or six days with his Dutchess and lady Anne to take shipping for London.

Yesterday his royal Highness called the King's council, and there the King's will was declared for his chancellor who was president of the session, and my lord Queensberry treasurer, and my lord Perth justice general which Queensberry had before.

Earl of Dartmouth to Erasmus Lewis, Esq;—Account of the Duke's shipwreck.

S I R,

Sandwell, Jan. 25, 1723-4.

THIS is only in answer to the last paragraph in yours of the 21st. My father was on board the Gloucester, but so little deserved to have the drowning of a 150 men (which the Bishop has so liberally bestowed upon him) laid chiefly to his charge, that it was in great measure owing to him, that any escaped after the ship had struck. He several times pressed the Duke, to get into the boat, who refused to do it, telling him, that if he were gone, no body would take care of the ship, which he had hopes might be saved, if she were not abandoned. But my father finding she was ready to sink, told him if he stayed any longer they should be obliged to force him out: upon which the Duke ordered a strong box to be lifted into the boat, which besides being extremely weighty, took up a good deal of time, as well as room. My father asked him with some warmth, if there was any thing in it worth a man's life. The Duke answered that there were things of so

great consequence both to the King and himself that he would hazard his own rather than it should be lost. Before he went off he enquired for Lord Roxborough and Lord Obrien, but the confusion and hurry was so great that they could not be found: when the Duke and as many as she would hold with safety were in the boat, my father stood with his sword drawn to hinder the crowd from oversetting of her, which I suppose was what the Bishop esteemed a fault; but the King thanked him publicly for the care he had taken of the Duke; and the Dutcheß, who was not apt to favour him much upon other occasions, said upon this, that she thought herself more obliged to him than to any man in the world, and should do so, as long as she lived. I cannot guess what induced the Bishop to charge my father with the long-boat's not being sufficiently manned, for if that were true (which I much doubt) it was not under his direction, he being on board in no other capacity, but as a passenger and the Duke's servant: and I believe the reflection upon the Duke for his care of the dogs to be as ill grounded, for I remember a story (that was in every body's mouth at that time) of a struggle that happened for a plank between Sir Charles Scarborough, and the Duke's dog Mumper, which convinces me, that the dogs were left to take care of themselves (as he did) if there were any more on board, which I never heard till the Bishop's story-book was published. This is all in relation to that affair, that ever came to the knowledge of, Sir, your most faithful, humble servant,

DARTMOUTH.

In the Depot.

The dependance of the two royal brothers upon France was at this time so extreme, that Barillon writes, 18th July, 1683, that King Charles had thoughts of a marriage between the Princess Anne and Prince George of Denmark; but that he and the Duke of York would take no resolution till they knew how far it would be

be agreeable to Louis; and that Lord Sunderland had proposed she should rather marry the Prince of Rhodé sur Yon, in order to tie Charles and Louis faster together.

France at this time meddled in almost every the most domestick affair of England. Barillon, as appears by his letters of the 10th and 28th of February, 1684, was uneasy that Lord Danby, however sunk in the capacity of hurting France, should be released from the Tower. But the Duke of York, who saw better the contempt of parliament which was implied in admitting a person to bail who had been committed by parliament, expressed himself thus: "Monsieur le Duc de York m'a dit on parlant sur cela, qu'il ne craignoit en facon du monde, que Milord Danby sortoit, parceque ce seroit une assurance encore plus grande qu'il n'y auroit point de parlement de long temps." "The Duke of York told me, on speaking on that head, that Lord Danby's releasement could give him no fear, because it would be a still greater security that there was to be no parliament for a long time."

In the Depot.

Barillon writes on the 13th November, 1684, and 8th January, 1685, that the scheme was communicated to him of reforming the Irish army, by bringing Papists into it, and making it a security for the King to trust to against his other subjects. And at an after period, to wit, on the 2d of April, 1685, he writes, that King James had given the Duke of Ormond's regiment of cavalry to Talbot (afterwards Lord Tyrconnel, and a Papist) because his brother had intended it.

In the Depot.

Between the dissolution of Charles's last parliament and his death, Barillon's dispatches having no great political

political objects, are full of the intrigues of the court. They shew that the Dutchess of Portsmouth, after the dissolution of the parliament, changed her conduct intirely, owned to the King she had been misled by the popular party in the affair of the exclusion, believing that it would procure quiet to the King, whereas she was now convinced that it was he who was aimed at through his brother, connected her interests with those of the Duke of York, and brought Lord Sunderland again into administration on his promise of doing the same.

I was at much pains to find out, whether there was any evidence among Barillon's dispatches of an intrigue, by the Dutchess of Portsmouth, at the end of Charles's reign, to bring the Duke of Monmouth to court at the expence of the Duke of York, who was to be sent away to Scotland; and another by Lord Halifax to bring about a reconciliation of the King with the Prince of Orange at the expence of France.

In the Depot.

Barillon writes on the 7th of December, 1684, that the Duke of York had then told him, that it was intended he should go to Scotland soon, to hold a parliament there. He writes on the 14th and 18th December of that year, that the Duke of Monmouth was secretly in London: And a marginal note in Barillon's account of the death of King Charles hereafter to be printed says, that the King had then seen him. Barillon writes on the 8th January, 1684, that Halifax was at that time at great pains to persuade the King to be reconciled to the Prince of Orange, and Duke of Monmouth. It appears from Barillon's dispatch of the 26th of July, 1685, to be printed in Appendix to Part I. Book 2d, that Louis the XIVth had in the year 1684, discontinued the subsidy due to Charles by the secret treaty of the year 1681; the reason of which probably was, either because he thought he stood no longer in need of the friendship of Charles, or because he thought

thought a reconciliation between him and the Prince of Orange impossible: and perhaps this might have irritated Charles against France, towards the end of his life. These things make it not impossible that some change was in agitation. But the evidence rather lies that the Dutchess of Portsmouth, whom Charles often duped as well as he did his ministers, was ignorant at least of that part of the intrigue which regarded the interest of the Duke of York. For on the 30th of November, 1684, Barillon writes, that the Dutchess of Portsmouth, thinking herself dying, had adjured the King to stand by his brother, and had made him swear to do so; and that Charles told this to the Duke of York, who desired Barillon to thank her. And Barillon in a letter in the next reign says, that the first visit which King James paid after his brother's death, was to the Dutchess of Portsmouth.

King Charles, two years before his death, came to know, that Louis the XIVth, in pretending to be his friend, had been intriguing against him with that part of his subjects which opposed him: and perhaps the consciousness that he was unpopular at home, distrusted by foreigners, and betrayed by that very Prince in whose cause he had suffered, brought on the melancholy which was observed in him towards the end of his reign.

The following three letters from Lord Preston, concerning the King's indignation at Falisseau, the person who had some years before been sent by the Whig party to form measures with the French court, are in Lord Preston's copy book of letters.

Lord

Lord Preston to Mr. Secretary Jenkins.—King Charles refuses to receive Falisseau as Envoy, who had formerly been sent by the Whig party to the French court.

S I R, Paris, December 16, S. N. 1682.

In Mr. Graham's
possession.

MONS. Spanheim, the Envoy of Brandenburg, drawing me aside yesterday, told me that he had of late been very uneasy, with the apprehension that his Majesty may have an ill opinion of him for the part which he hath seemed to have borne in the business of Mons. Falisseau, and that the great honour he hath always testified for him, and the great obligations which he hath to him, do oblige him to endeavour to justify and clear himself from having any design contrary to his service in whatever he hath done in that affair. He said, that when he was in England, the Elector, his present master, writ to him to find out a man, who would weekly give him a good account of what passed there, and that he would allow him a good pension for it. That accordingly he recommended one Mr. Eglington, who for some time continued to write; but his news being generally not very authentic, and often very stale, he was ordered to discharge him, and to find out another who might correspond more exactly and more faithfully with him. He then cast his eyes upon Mons. Falisseau, as one qualified to give the Elector satisfaction on this matter, he having also a year before recommended him to him as one capable of serving him at home. It is true, he said, that when he named him, he assured him he had known him in that employment, but that he had no dependance on any one; and that for himself, he had had no manner of habitudes or familiarity ever with any person in whose service he had been. Mons. Falisseau embracing the proposal, continued to write to Berlin for eight months entire, in which time the Elector was so well satisfied with his advices, that he wrote him word, he was resolved to
make

make him his resident in England, so far was he from being the first mover of this thing. It could not then be imagined, he said, that he should be sent thither as an incendiary under the protection of a character, the Elector, his master, never having concerned himself in the intrigues of any court, it being also an instruction to all his ministers which he sent abroad, not to be of any cabals, or to countenance any factions in the court where they reside. He said more, that he found by his letters, that his Majesty would be moved again in this affair, and desired to receive the credentials of Mons. Falisseau. That the Elector was concerned at what had passed, and thought, that he not being born a subject of England, could not well be refused as a minister there, without some good cause assigned. However, he was very sure, that he being owned once one, if his Majesty had the least occasion to be dissatisfied with his conduct, upon intimation of it, he would forthwith be recalled. I answered, that I had heard what had passed concerning that person in England, but that I had not much enquired, why he was not owned as the Elector's resident; but perhaps the same reason that had obliged his Majesty to refuse him at first, might still be strong against his receiving of him now. He said, he hoped not; and that though he had no order to speak this to me, yet he was very glad of the opportunity of justifying himself in some measure in this matter to me.

Lord Preston to Mr. Secretary Jenkins.—Charles orders Falisseau to leave the kingdom.

S I R, Paris, December 23, S. N. 1682.

MONS. Spanheim took an occasion again yesterday to speak to me on the affair of Mons. Falisseau, he having received an account from England of his Majesty's last orders to him to depart the kingdom, as also the copies of the letters which passed betwixt the King and the Elector, which, I suppose, were transmitted

In Mr. Graham's possession.

transmitted to him from Berlin: by the favour of Mr. Blathwayte I was also advised of what had passed, and had also the copies of those letters, which enabled me the better to justify the reasons which his Majesty had to do what was done. He protested much that he had no other design than what was innocent; however, he could have wished that his Majesty would not have expressed his resentment so suddenly against Falisseau, upon the receipt of the Elector's letter.

I answered, that he had more reason to be satisfied with the civility and respect which his Majesty had expressed to the Elector on the proceeding, because that whilst he bore the character of his resident, he was suffered to continue in England purely out of that consideration, though the reasons were, at that time, as strong for sending him away as now; and was never ordered to depart the kingdom, till the Elector had, by his letter to his Majesty, declared that he had ordered him to desist from pressing to be acknowledged as his minister. He could not say much to this, but seemed to lay great blame upon the Imperial and Spanish ministers, as being the occasion of what had happened.

Lord Preston to Mr. Secretary Jenkins.—On the same subject.

S I R,

Paris, February 10, S. N. 1683.

In Mr. Graham's
possession.

MONS. Spanheim yesterday, at Versailles, told me, that he was commanded by the Elector, his master, to acquaint me, that he was troubled, that he had given a character to Mons. Falisseau, since he was a person so unacceptable to his Majesty; if he had known that he would not have been agreeable to him, he would by no means have sent him; and he desired me to assure his Majesty of this. He said further, that his Electoral Highness was troubled and surprised at one expression in his Majesty's last letter to him, which seemed to intimate that he had held
correspondence

correspondence with his disaffected subjects, and given them encouragement to continue in their disobedience; and did assure me in his name, and did desire me to do the same to his Majesty, that he never had had any commerce with them, and that he had given no commission to his minister to entertain it, nor that ever he would: but that he did not think fit to answer the letter, because it might occasion new disputes, and rather hinder than promote that good intelligence which he would endeavour to have with his Majesty. Mons. Spanheim also, upon his own account, made professions of service to his Majesty, having received great obligations and favours from him. I told him, I should not fail to represent what he had told me to the King, my master, who, I doubted not, had the same desire of living well with his Electoral Highness, and that he would be ready, upon any occasion, to make it appear. You will be pleased to let me know in your next, if his Majesty will have any thing said in return to Mons. Spanheim.

Charles was also informed by Lord Preston of the intrigues of Mr. Hampden, Mr. Montague, and Dr. Burnet, in France at this time.

Lord Preston to Mr. Secretary Jenkins.—Mr. Hampden recommended by Barillon to the Archbishop of Paris.

S I R, Paris, January 20, S. N. 1683.

I HAVE received the honour of two of yours, of January 1st, S. V. in answer to my letter concerning Mr. Hampden, and I most heartily thank you for it; you may be assured that I shall always acquaint you with any thing of consequence which comes within my knowledge, when I can ground my belief well. I own that at first sight, the circumstance of Mr. Hampden being recommended to the Archbishop of Paris is a little

In Mr. Graham's possession.

little unaccountable ; but if you will consider that there is not a more intriguing man in the world than the Archbishop, and also that he and father Le Chaise are employed under-hand to carry on all sorts of designs, as well temporal as other, by this King's ministers ; and also that there can be nothing of more advantage to their religion, than to keep on foot the disputes amongst the English protestants, and the divisions in our church, for which no persons are fitter than those of Mr. Hampden's principles ; you will not find it strange that he should have been addressed to him : Besides you will imagine that things of this kind being not so much avowed, yet it would be a little too plain to have given him recommendations to Monsf. de Louvois or to Monsf. de Colbert. Upon the whole matter, I have much reason to believe that the thing is true.

Lord Preston to Mr. Secretary Jenkins.—To the same purpose.

S I R,

Paris, January 2, S. N. 1683.

In Mr. Graham's
possession.

I HAVE been endeavouring for some time to trace Mr. Hampden the younger in his travels through France, Swisserland and Germany, in all which places he hath been extremely industrious to vilify and misrepresent our governors and government, both in church and state, and here in particular he hath blown up the Protestants, and given them strange impressions of the King and his ministers. At this, however, I should not have wondered much, because I know it is the principle of his family to hate their Prince, and to endeavour to ruin our monarchy. But I must confess I am surpris'd at this, with which I shall acquaint you, and which I certainly know to be true, and can prove it by one of undoubted worth, who had it from his own mouth, which is, that he had a letter of recommendation from Monsf. de Barillon to the Archbishop of Paris, and that he was at least four or five times with him during

during his stay here. 'This matter got wind amongst the Protestants, which made them entertain some suspicion of him, though before he was looked upon as one sent from Heaven to save them. He hearing of this, was forced to own that he had such a letter, but that he did not visit the Archbishop, but sent it by another hand. I must, Sir, speak the truth to you, and tell you that it is evident to him, who observeth the least, that the fanatic party is highly countenanced from hence, whatever may be pretended to the contrary; and that though the hand is at present invisible that keeps the breach open, yet in time the effect will shew its cause. I hint this, Sir, only to yourself: I confess I do not know what use you can make of it, more than that perhaps you will think fit to have an eye upon that gentleman, and that it may enable you to judge better of the proceedings of such men, who pretend to reform so very thoroughly as he and his party do; and also of their ends.

Lord Preston to the Lord M. of Hallifax.—Former intrigues of Montague, and present of Burnet with France.

Paris, November 5, S. N. 1683.

MY LORD,

SINCE my last to your Lordship, I have some more lights concerning Mr. Montague, and I have them from an original hand, and I dare assure your Lordship of the truth of them. He did twice, during his stay here, desire to see this King in private, and twice it was refused to him, he being told the last time, that his Most Christian Majesty did not think fit to see him at this time, when he had so good a correspondence with the King, our Master, and when he, Mr. Montague, was so ill with him. When he could not obtain an audience, he then, by the same hand, desired to know, if he might not expect some money as a gratification, he having at this time occasion for it. He was denied that also, which made him make more haste

In Mr. Graham's possession.

away than he designed to do at his arrival here. I am told he intends to leave my Lady Northumberland at Montpellier, and to pass the winter himself in Italy; at least he pretends this. I remember I took particular notice of the word *gratification*, when this thing was told me, and I desired to know if that was his term which he used, and the person who told me, assured me a second time that it was. It need not be observed to your Lordship, *that gratification pre-supposeth service*. I have, since I had this account, considered why Mr. Montague should have been treated worse than Dr. Burnet, and I can only think of these reasons for it. First, he cannot be so useful at this time as the Doctor, who, if he be gone into England, may continue his former practice with the discontented party. In the next place, if Mr. Montague had had a reception, it could not have been excused so to the King, our Master, as that of Dr. Burnet was by his most Christian Majesty, pretending not to know his character and circumstances. Or, perhaps, another reason might be, the present scarcity of money here, where they are begun to retrench in all sorts of expence. It is a question now often asked at this court in confidence, whether there has been really any such thing as a late conspiracy in England? Which I take to be one effect of the Doctor's late conversation here.

Two years after this, Lord Preston, in a letter to King James, dated April 28, 1685, to be printed in the Appendix to the next book, treats it as a thing known, that France had had pensioners in the House of Commons, in the reign of Charles the II^d. against the interest of that prince.

Charles received yet a more mortifying stroke, for Lord Preston gave him intelligence that there had been a design in France, though afterwards stopped, to make his secret negotiations with the Dutchess of Orleans public. The circumstance of it are as follow.

It

It is known from English history, that Charles had been much pressed by Lord Halifax and Lord Keeper North, to call a parliament after the dissolution of his last one. In the *Depot* there is a letter from the Duke of York in Scotland, dated 27—17 November, 1681, to Barillon, lamenting and complaining, that the King, in answer to a memorial from Van Beuningen, the Dutch Ambassador, had promised to call a parliament: and it appears from Barillon's dispatches, that France was alarmed with the fear of Charles's calling a parliament as well as the Duke of York. The power of discovering the original secret treaty, made at Dover in the year 1669, had given Louis a great superiority over Charles, because it laid that Prince at his mercy. One of Barillon's letters, dated 3d July, 1680, In the *Depot*, to his own court, mentions that he had got a discretionary power to threaten Charles with that discovery, and “de regarder cet expedient comme un foudre, qu'il est bon de faire apprehender dans l'extreme necessité;” “to regard this expedient as a stroke of thunder, which it is proper to make use of in extreme necessity.” I did not find in any of the papers at Versailles that the French court gave orders to make a discovery of Charles's secret negotiations with his sister. But the three following letters from Lord Preston, in Mr. Graham of Netherby's possession, make it not improbable that they did intend it, at the time when they were afraid of Charles's being persuaded to call a new parliament.

Lord Preston to Mr. Secretary Jenkins.—Abbot Primi's book about Charles's secret negotiations with the Dutchess of Orleans, intended to have been published by the French ministry.

S I R, Paris, July 22, S.N. 1682.

“**L**'Abbè Primi, an Italian, having lately written in his own language, an history of the late wars of this king, did the last week, at court, begin to present

present some copies of it, and amongst other persons did give one to Mons. de Croissy; who the same day taking occasion to look upon the book, fell by chance upon that part of it, in which he speaks of the negotiations with England. He carried the book to the council, and having made a report to the King, in what manner Primi had spoken of those negotiations, he seemed to be extremely surpris'd, and his Majesty then gave order, that he should be immediately arrested and sent to the Bastile, as he then was, where he now remains, and that his papers should be seized, and all the copies of his book suppress'd, which was done accordingly; but, however, some of them are dispers'd abroad, though I cannot yet, by any means, get one of them to send to you, but I have obtained liberty to transcribe a passage out of it which concerns England most, which I send inclosed to you to shew his Majesty. The history of this Abbé Primi (as near as I can inform myself) is this: he came to the court some years since, upon no other account than to tell fortunes; he pretending great skill in physiognomy and palmistry, and under that pretext, he insinuated himself much into the company of the ladies, and amongst the rest, he became very particularly acquainted with Madame la Comtesse de Soissons. After some time, he thought that writing the history of this King and his actions would be a very good way of making his court; having also that prospect which others of his countrymen have, of succeeding Mons. L'Abbé Syri in his employ of historiographer in the Italian tongue, for which he hath a pension of 1000 crowns. But he having no great stock of learning, nor being well acquainted with the elegancies of his own language, became acquainted with Mons. de Rose, Secretary of the Cabinet, with Mons. d'Angeau, and with L'Abbé de Choisy, which last was to translate his history into French. These his friends, have obtained for him several gratifications from the King, which have also been given him upon account of his work. With these supplies he was enabled to make an impression of this book more than a year since, and hath shew'd some parts

parts of it to his friends, though he hath kept the first part of the history very close till he published it within these three days. Upon the first notice that I had of this book, I was resolved to have spoken to Mons. de Croissy about it, but hearing at the same time that the author was in the Bastile, and that the copies were suppressed, I resolved to say nothing till I should have the commands of the King, my master, in it. It is, I am told, reported about this town, that the King, my master, having notice of this book, sent to the King here an account of it, and also desired that the writer of it might be secured. All that I say to it is, that I do not believe the King, my master, hath yet seen or heard of the book, but that I do not doubt, but when he doth, he will demand satisfaction against the writer, finding himself so injuriously and basely treated, and so impudently abused by a false and mercenary scribbler. If the King will have any thing done in this matter, I shall be ready to obey his commands. However, I think it my duty to give you as early notice as I can of any thing which may reflect upon my master or the government, as this doth. *I am afraid this book is written with a design to disturb us, and if any thing can make some people madder than they are, this will. 'Tis said some copies are gone into England, doubtless to be reprinted there; therefore it would do well to have an eye upon the press.*

In Cypher.

Three things are very observable in this matter.

I. He hath had a pension upon the account of writing of history.

II. He says he had memoirs from the ministers by order.

III. The liberty of printing the book was obtained by an extraordinary way; for the Chancellor ordered the privilege to be expedited at the request of the friends of the author, pretending never to have read it."

Lord Preston to the Earl of Clarendon.—To the same purpose

My Lord,

Paris, July 20, 1682.

“**I** Must return your Lordship many thanks for the honour of your last. I was very glad to find by it, that your lordship was in health, and that you continued your humble servant in your remembrance. I assure your lordship no one hath a more grateful remembrance of all your favours than I have; and no one shall be readier upon all occasions to acknowledge them. I have sent to your lordship by my brother that insolent book of Abbe Primi's, which though disavowed now, was certainly printed with the good leave of this court, but the man had the misfortune to publish it unseasonably. For it was calculated for a parliament, and so came out too soon, which obliged the ministry here to shew some resentment. And I will only desire your lordship to peruse the licence at the end of the history, and then I will ask you, if you ever saw one more full and ample in your life. I could not get you the Italian one, but have sent you the translation, which is not near so full as the original. I could not get another in Paris; and when you have done with it, be pleased to shew it to Mr. secretary Jenkins.

I believe it will be soon printed in Holland; it was reprinting at Geneva, and I got notice of it, and acquainted Monsieur de Croissy with it, and desired that orders might be taken to suppress it, which I hope is done.”

Extract of a Letter from Lord Preston to Mr. secretary Jenkins.

Paris, December 16, 1682.

“**L**'Abbe Primi is lately set at liberty, and as I am very sure, hath a pension settled upon him, and a sum of ready money given him now.”

The

The situation of King Charles was the more uneasy at the end of his reign, on account of the miserable disorder in which his domestic finances were involved. A pamphlet written by the late Mr. Carte, called *An Answer to the Bystander*, proves to a demonstration that Charles's revenue, even though it had been managed with œconomy, was inadequate to the expences of government; and it is a very mean as well as false policy in an English parliament to starve an English King. But besides this, the careless character of King Charles, and that of many of those around him, who formed their characters on his, prevented this revenue, inadequate as it was, from going so far as it ought to have done. A Prince who depends upon his people, to be happy must be frugal.

Among Lord Keeper North's papers, in the possession of Doctor North, there is the following account, written by his Lordship, of the disorders in the management of King Charles's revenue.

An account of divers signal frauds in the conduct and disposition of the public revenues in the time of Charles II^d, by reason of his remissness, which turned vastly to the loss of himself and the nation.—Written by Lord Keeper North.

I. In the Treasury.

It is a true saying, An empty treasury and a rich treasurer. For when there is a full Exchequer, there can be no pretences to delay payment, and there will be no extraordinary applications; all things go on even and just; and the King buys cheaper than other men, because he buys more; and if he doth not, officers may be justly named that buy from him, and are without excuse.

But when there wants money, and men croud to be payed first, give great gratuities for preference, cannot

tell when they are abused, and so cannot complain, consequently they must sell dearer, and they who are entrusted to buy, having a pretence to make a bigger price than the market, do allow greater than needs and take gratuities, and presume they shall excuse themselves by want of credit.

Sir Stephen
Fox.

The guards solicit for want of pay. The gentleman who is paymaster offers, if they will allow 12d. per pound, he will save them the trouble of soliciting, and pay them punctually.

The King wants money to do it. The same person offers, if he may have good security and 8 per cent. he will supply the occasion. He borrows money at 6 and 5, nay by credit of the cash is trusted with other men's running cash without interest, and so makes greater advantage than any officer in England.

Richard Kent
the cashier.

Another offers to lend a great sum of money to pay off clamorous debts that lye upon the customs, so that they are anticipated for a great time, and no ready money to be expected. He finds out the creditors, and gives them his own security at time, or buys their debts beforehand. To secure him, he is made cashier of the customs, and only advanceth with one hand to receive with the other.

Charles Dun-
comb.

The same device serves for other branches of the revenue.

Gay, Lon-
des, &c.

Earl Danby,
Lonndes and
the Bertyes.

The clerks and officers know what is likely to be ordered for payment of any great debt, and give out things to make it desperate, get the order revoked for that purpose, or any other way mortify the creditors, then buy the bills at one half per cent. Many times this advantage is got by intelligence only. Making of debts very bad is very profitable, for they may be bought in very cheap, and the King may be persuaded to pay them. The treasurer who knows this may find his account in it; for the leeches will pay for favour.

Earl of South-
ampton.

Earl of Southampton's profit lay in disposing of offices when he was treasurer. The King gives 8000l. per annum in lieu of it. And afterwards the Lord treasurers

surers have the 8000*l.* per. annum and recommend also, and it is necessary they should recommend.

Tin was at *L.* 2 : 10 per cent. an endeavour was for a pre-emption by the act; 80,000 weight of Tin was bought. But the act did not pass, then this Tin was the King's, and he was fain to sell it for loss. And before it was the King's, the coinage was stopped to make Tin dear : but that not doing it was the King's loss.

II. In the Wardrobe.

It is a way in the Wardrobe to get debts allowed as payed without vouchers by extraordinary warrant, and before persons concerned know of it, to buy them at half price, by persuading them they are desperate. Whenever debts are vendible, the buyers procure or shew hard usage to make them cheap.

The Earl of Southampton Master of the Wardrobe died *L.* 30,000, in debt to several people who gave credit to the office ; for he had received money to pay them. By his great merit his son gets to be pardoned all accounts, and so the heir and the lands became free. The creditors petitioned the King to be payed, but could not obtain it, because they had been already provided for by sending money to the office.

III. In Farms.

Men will be commissioners of the revenue, and manage all, that they may farm with advantage. They will take their farms in the name of beggars that the covenants to the King may be invalid.

IV. By Officers.

Old officers couzen, and then it is said to be worth while to check them by having a new officer for the purpose. And in a short time he comes into the confederacy. And then it is a new charge without benefit.

fit. Or they will say that if their salary be mended there will be no need. But when that is done, they cheat again afresh.

A man in office fit for employment begs leave to sell his office, and then is discontent for a new one, being destitute of employment.

Men will have employments who will spend more than their profit, and then make account the King owes them what they spend as for service, and therefore they must have other employments, so sea captains, ambassadors, &c.; and to oblige noblemen, governments must be made very chargeable, Jamaica, Virginia, &c.; whereas they would be better governed when cheaper.

The great offices of the butlerage and impost were paid out of the rent of the prisage duty, and perhaps *L.* 500 per annum only reserved out of which they were paid. But this *L.* 500 per annum was begged away, and they left in the lurch deservedly.

Old officers of the household are obsolete; so new officers are intrusted for personal diligence, and afterwards the place continues. Thus is the treasurer of the household and the master of the jewel house supplanted by the cofferer and by the treasurer of the chamber, &c. And diverse other by the bed-chamber men. These changes at court and the reason of them were worth a history.

When the King is bent to put in a man for merit against the liking of his favourites, they will persuade the Prince it is better to keep the place void; there are enough besides; there needs no filling it; and so on; till they can incline the Prince to bestow it as they please.

When men cannot prevail with good natured Princes to remove commissioners, their way is to make supernumerarys so many, that of necessity they must be reduced, and upon the reducing them they in whose province it is may put out whom they please.

If a man be an enemy to the thing for the person's sake, and the Prince be for the person but will be advised

wised of the thing; find a person grateful to the opposer, and that will allay him, and it may be make him promote it, and when he is engaged it may be turned to the old person.

Never let the merit of the person prevail to have a thing done, that ought not to be, for who set upon such projects, will never want persons of interest to press upon that score; and no stop can ever be put to such grants.

Princes should make establishments according to their own occasions, and not keep up useless charges. King James affected hunting and hawking, and had more officers relating to that than needed in another King's reign; and yet they were kept up.

If there be an invention of sheathing with lead, or nealing guns; take in partners, those who are to contract and to pay; so you may not only have fourteen years monopoly, but which is much better, the King will use it for his fleet; and altho it be the worse way, or not worth the cost, the arts of court and interest will prevail.

Hales.
Sir John
Chiefly.
E. of Shaftesbury.
Prince Rupert. 60 per cent.
16 reduced.

Pretences to avails and fees grow insensibly to great absurdity, even against common sense; as that Woodwards shall have all windfall and dotard trees; and Farrer all incurable horses, and the like; and that whatever is presented belongs to them that wait. This discourages the giver, and the other encourageth knavery.

V. In Pensions.

All men are against keeping up useless pensions. But when they fall, one or other that hath the power to get his friend into a place, for his sake keeps up the pension.

The Lord Chief Justice of Wales hath a pension, because he doth not practise: after him a man that hath interest, who doth practise, gets the place, and hath the pension continued, his companion being a favourite.

Sir Job
Charlton.
Sir George
Jeffereys.

George

George Johnson gets a pension likewise, and sells the place with the pension ; so the King gives a pension to be sold, and it must be continued because it is bought.

The masters of Chancery must have pensions that they may be men of worth ; and they buy and sell their places ; so that the pension comes but to augment the price, and mends not the quality of the office at all.

VI. By Boons and Grants.

Mr. Ellefden.

The King allowed £. 100 per annum out of the customs at Lime in Dorsetshire, for maintenance of the cobb, (that is mole) there. ¶ This was begged by Mr. Ellefden, a neighbour to the town.

Sir Robert
Holmes.

It was said that the fee farm rents of the Isle of Wight, and necessary to the government there, for the support of it, must not be sold. And the governor, Sir Robert Holmes, opposed the selling them for the sake of the government ; and afterwards he begged them himself.

Sir Robert
Carr.
Sir Thomas
Chiesly

Sir Robert Carr the chancellor of the Dutchy, begs 8 or 900 l. per annum of the Dutchy rents. Then Sir Thomas Chiesly begs all the arrears of the revenue in the name of Mr. Windham, amounting to £. 3000, so the revenue was to be let run into arrear, on purpose to be begged. He would have been farmer of the whole revenue to make it maintain the officers, and thereby have had all the casualties himself, as if the Dutchy were only to maintain the officers : Sure it were better to have the revenue annexed to the crown.

How is it possible for a Prince to be out of debt, when it is the interest of all about him to have him in debt ; and when it is so natural and easy to run in debt, and when it is a crime to persuade him to be out of debt ? For the parliament builds upon the needs of the crown.

Sometimes a knave gets to be a receiver, or by some other means in the King's debt, and gets what he can, and hides : then if he be in favour, pleads inability to pay. This must presently be begged as a desperate debt,

debt, and he underhand procures it for an easy composition.

The sure way for debts to be paid, is to have such a contract, that what he (the receiver) binds himself shall be paid before tallies, and then when a debt comes to be paid, he can set it further off at pleasure. This is said to be at the custom-house.

Mr. Kent.

It has been an old trick of officers, to pretend to take no care of debts contracted before their own time, which makes applications warm, but is unjust, and destroys the Prince's credit. For the change of officers is at his pleasure, and more hazardous than life.

VII. In the Navy and Stores.

Chief commanders to the Straits, command more stores out of the store-ship than needs; the captain takes less, and master of the stores sells the rest to the King again, and passeth his account according to bills and acquittances, and not according to actual delivery. Quære, What other ways they have to make such vast advantages?

The master of the stores, when there is great confidence with others, will give receipts for more than he actually receives, and the profit is divided. The remedy is best by shifting masters, or frequent inventories, but especially by spies that may betray them so as that they may not trust any one.

Old Mr. Foley.

The Earl of Essex would have sold timber to the King, but the commissioners of the navy, or Sir Anthony Diar would not deal with him. But he was fain to sell it to Sir Charles Bickerstaff, who was their customer, and he sold it after to the King. The reason is plain why they will not deal with any but acquaintances.

Sir Charles
Bickerstaff.

The King's works must not be done by the great, but by the day; and reasons are found for it, that it may be dearer: and therefore they work lazily, purloin, go by the bell, and leave off at the stroke of the first found, as if there was peril in the proceeding. This

is not only to the King's loss, but prejudicial to the neighbourhood, that cannot have labourers diligent; and this charge also becomes the means of contracts by the great.

VIII. In the Public Money.

It hath been a plausible thing to have the mint go gratis, and so a great deal of money will be coined; and as a good effect of this, lists of great sums of money coined, are produced. But it is a great charge upon the government, for, by some artifice, careless coining is produced of pieces which though not equal one with the other, put together in great quantities shall answer weight. Then do the persons (not to say the goldsmiths) who brought in the bullion, take the weighty pieces and melt them down, and return them to the mint *toties quoties*, &c. whence it becomes a great policy to make the coin pay for the workmanship, and more to prevent melting, which will be practised, if money be cheaper than bullion.

The people, no question, who receive so much clipped money will endure it. But they who make this unjust profit will clamour at any such regulation. Collect then the wisdom of antiquity that went this way to work, and that forbade the taking of any clipped, or counterfeit money."

In the *Depot* at Versailles, there is the following dispatch, which gives a very minute account of Charles the Second's behaviour in his last moments.

Depêche de M. Barillon au Roy.

Fevrier 18, 1685.

In the *Depot*.

LA lettre que je me donne l'honneur d'écrire aujourd'hui à votre Majesté est seulement pour lui rendre un compte exact de ce qui s'est passé de plus important

portant à la mort du feu Roy d'Angleterre. Sa maladie, qui commença le Lundi 12 Fevrier au matin, recût divers changemens les jours suivans, quelquefois on le croioit hors de danger, et ensuite il arrivoit quelque accident qui faisoit juger que son mal étoit mortel ; enfin le Jeudi quinziesme Fevrier sur le midi, je fus averti d'un bon endroit qu'il n'y avoit plus d'esperance, et que les medecins ne croioient pas qu'il pût passer la nuit ; j'aillai aussitot après à Withal ; Mr. le Duc d'York avoit donné ordre aux officiers qui gardoient la porte de l'antichambre de me laisser passer à toute heure ; il étoit toujours dans la chambre du Roy son frere, et en sortoit de tems en tems pour donner les ordres sur tout ce qui se passoit dans la ville ; le bruit se repandoit plusieurs fois par jour que le Roy étoit mort : d'abord que je fus arrivé, Monsieur le Duc d'York me dit, " Les medecins croient que le Roy est en un extreme danger, je vous prie d'assurer votre maitre qu'il aura toujours en moi un serviteur fidèle et reconnoissant." Je fus jusqu'à cinq heures dans l'antichambre du Roy d'Angleterre ; Monsieur le Duc d'York me fit entrer plusieurs fois dans la chambre, et me parloit de ce qui se passoit au dehors, et des assurances qu'on lui donnoit de tous costés que tout étoit fort tranquille dans la ville, et qu'il y seroit proclamé Roy au moment que le Roy son frere seroit mort. Je sortis pendant quelque tems pour aller à l'appartement de Madame de Portsmouth ; je la trouvai dans une douleur extreme ; les medecins lui avoient ôté toute sorte d'esperance ; cependant au lieu de me parler de sa douleur et de la perte qu'elle étoit sur le point de faire, elle entra dans un petit cabinet, et me dit, " Monsieur l'Ambassadeur, je m'en vais vous dire le plus grand secret du monde, et il iroit de ma tête si on le favoit : Le Roy d'Angleterre dans le fonds de son cœur est catholique, mais il est environné des evesques protestans, et personne ne lui dit l'état ou il est, ni ne lui parle de Dieu ; je ne puis plus avec bienséance rentrer dans la chambre, outre que la Reine y est presque toujours : Monsieur le Duc d'York songe à ses affaires, et en a trop pour prendre le soin
qu'il

qu'il devoit de la conscience du Roy ; allez lui dire, que je vous ai conjuré de l'avertir qu'il songe à ce qui se pourra faire pour sauver l'ame du Roy ; il est le maître dans la chambre ; il peut faire sortir qui il voudra ; ne perdez point de tems, car si on differe tant soit peu, il sera trop tard."

Je retournai à l'instant trouver Monsieur le Duc d'York : je le priai de faire semblant d'aller chez la Reine, qui étoit sortie de la chambre du Roy, et qu'on venoit de saigner parcequ'elle s'étoit évanouie : la chambre communique aux deux appartemens ; je le suivis chez la Reine, et je lui dis ce que Madame de Portsmouth m'avoit dit. Il revint comme d'une profonde lethargie, et me dit, " Vous avez raison ; il n'y a pas de tems à perdre ; je hazarderai tout plutôt que de ne pas faire mon devoir en cette occasion." Une heure après il revint me trouver, sous prétexte encore d'aller chez la Reine, et me dit, qu'il avoit parlé au Roy son frere, et qu'il l'avoit trouvé résolu de ne point prendre la cène que les evesques Protestans le pressoient de recevoir ; que cela les avoit fort surpris, mais qu'il en demeureroit toujours quelques un d'eux dans sa chambre, s'il ne prenoit un prétexte de faire sortir tout le monde, à fin de pouvoir parler au Roi son frere avec liberté, et le disposer à faire une abjuration formelle de l'hérésie, et à se confesser à un prestre Catholique.

Nous agitames divers expédiens ; M. le Duc d'York proposa que je demandasse à parler au Roi son frere, pour lui dire quelque chose de secret de la part de votre Majesté, et qu'on feroit sortir tout le monde. Je m'offris à le faire ; mais je lui representai qu'outre que cela causeroit un grand bruit, il n'y auroit pas d'apparence de me faire demeurer en particulier avec le Roy d'Angleterre et lui seul, assez longtems pour ce que nous avions à faire. La pensée vint ensuite à M. le Duc d'York, de faire venir la reine, comme pour dire un dernier adieu au Roy, et lui demander pardon si elle lui avoit desobei en quelque chose ; que lui feroit aussi la même ceremonie. En fin Mr. le Duc d'York se résolut

réfolut de parler au Roi, fon frere devant tout le monde, mais de faire enforte que perfonne n'entendrait ce qu'il lui diroit, parceque cela oteroit tout foupçon, et on croiroit feulement qu'il lui parleroit d'affaires d'état, et de ce qu'il vouloit qui fût fait après fa mort ; ainfi fans autre plus grande précaution, le Duc d'York fe pencha à l'oreille du Roi fon frere, après avoir ordonné que perfonne n'approchat : j'étois dans la chambre et plus de vingt perfonnes à la porte qui étoit ouverte ; on n'entendoit pas ce que difoit M. le Duc d'York ; mais le Roy d'Angleterre difoit de tems en tems fort haut *Oui de tout mon cœur* ; il faisoit quelque fois répéter M. le Duc d'York ce qu'il difoit, parcequ'il n'entendoit pas aifément ; cela dura près d'un quart d'heure ; M. le Duc d'York fortit encore comme pour aller chez la Reine, et me dit ; “ Le Roy confent que je lui faffe venir un prestre ; je n'ofe faire venir aucun de ceux de la Duchefle, ils font trop connus ; envoyez en chercher un viftement.” Je lui dis, que je le ferois de tout mon cœur, mais que je croiois que l'on perdrait trop de tems, et que je venois de voir tous les prêtres de la Reine dans un cabinet proche de fa chambre. Il me dit, Vous avez raifon ; il appercût en même tems le Comte de Castelmelhor qui embraffa avec chaleur la proposition que je lui fit, et fe chargea de parler a la Reine ; il revint à l'inftant et me dit, “ Quand je hazarderois ma tête en cecy, je le ferois avec joie, cependant je ne fçais aucun prêtre de la Reine qui entende l'Anglois, et qui le parle.” Sur cela nous refolumes d'envoyer chez le Refident de Venife chercher un prêtre Anglois ; mais parceque le tems preffoit le Comte de Castelmelhor alla ou étoient les prêtres de la Reine, et y trouva parmi eux un prêtre Ecoffois, nommé Hudelfton, qui fava le Roi d'Angleterre après la bataille de Vorchefter, et qui a été excepté par acte du parlement de toutes les loix faites contre les Catholiques, et contre les prêtres ; on lui donna une peruque et une cafaque pour le deguifer, et le Comte de Castelmelhor le conduifit à la porte d'un appartement qui repond par

un petit degré à la chambre du Roy ; M. le Duc d'York, que j'avois averti que tout étoit prest, envoya Chiffins recevoir et conduire le Sieur Hudelston : ensuite il dit tout haut, " Messieurs, le Roy veut que tout le monde se retire à la reserve du Comte de Baths, et du Comte de Feverham." L'un est le premier des gentils-hommes de la chambre, et le second étoit en seamine, et servoit actuellement. Les medecins entrèrent dans un cabinet dont on ferma la porte ; et Chiffin amena le Sieur Hudelston : M. le Duc d'York en le lui presentant, lui dit, " Sire, voici un homme qui vous à sauvé la vie, et qui vient à cette heure pour sauver votre âme." Le Roy répondit, qu'il soit le bien venu ; ensuite il se confessa avec de grands sentimens de devotion et de repentir. Le Comte de Castlemelhor avoit pris soin de faire instruire Hudelston par un religieux Portugais Carme déchauffé, de ce qu'il avoit à dire au Roi en une telle occasion, parceque de lui même ce n'étoit pas un grand docteur : mais M. le Duc d'York m'a dit qu'il s'acquitta fort bien de sa fonction, et qu'il fit formellement promettre au Roi d'Angleterre, de se déclarer ouvertement Catholique s'il revenoit en santé : ensuite il recût l'absolution, communia, et recût même l'extreme onction. Tout cela dura environ trois quarts d'heure. Chacun se regardoit dans l'antichambre, et personne ne se disoit rien que des yeux et à l'oreille. La presence de Milord Baths et de Milord Feverham, qui sont Protestans, a un peu rassuré les evesques ; cependant les femmes de la Reine, et les autres prêtres, ont vu tant d'allées et de venues, que je ne pense pas que le secret puisse être longtems gardé.

Depuis que le Roi d'Angleterre eut communiqué, il y eut un leger amandement à son mal. Il est constant qu'il parloit plus intelligiblement, et qu'il avoit plus de force ; nous esperions déjà que Dieu avoit voulu faire un miracle en le guérissant ; mais les medecins jugerent que le mal n'étoit point diminué, et que le Roy ne passeroit pas la nuit : cependant il paroissoit beaucoup plus tranquille, et parloit avec plus de sens et de connoissance qu'il n'avoit encore fait, depuis dix heures

heures du soir jusqu' à huit heures du matin. Il parla plusieurs fois tout haut à M. le Duc d' York avec des termes pleins de tendresse et d'amitié; il lui recommanda deux fois Madame de Portsmouth et le Duc de Richemont; il lui recommanda aussi tous ses autres enfans; il ne fit aucune mention de M. le Duc de Monmouth, ni en bien ni en mal: il temoignoit souvent sa confiance en la miséricorde de Dieu.— L' eveque de Baths et de Vels, qui étoit son prédicateur, faisoit quelques prières, et lui parloit de Dieu; le Roy d' Angleterre marquoit de la tête qu' il l' entendoit: cet eveque ne s' ingera pas de lui dire rien de particulier, ni de lui proposer de faire une profession de foi; il apprehendoit un refus, et craignoit encore plus, à ce que je crois d' irriter M. le Duc d' York.

Il l'avoit vu un peu auparavant en secret, et il retourna en Hollande.

Le Roy d' Angleterre conserva toute la nuit une entière connoissance, et parla de toutes choses avec un grand calme; il demanda à six heures, qu' elle heure il étoit, et dit, faites ouvrir les rideaux afin que je voye encore le jour; il souffroit de grandes douleurs, et on le saigna à sept heures dans l' opinion que cela adouciroit ses douleurs; il commença à huit heures et demie à ne plus parler que très difficilement; et sur les dix heures, il n' avoit plus aucune connoissance; il mourut à midi sans aucun effort ni convulsion. Le nouveau Roi se retira à son appartement, et fut reconnu unanimement et ensuite proclamé.

J' ai cru devoir rendre un compte exacte à votre Majesté du detail de ce qui s' est passé dans cette occasion, et je m' estime bien heureux que Dieu m' ait fait la grace d' y avoir quelque part. Je suis, &c.

Translation.

Mr. Barillon to the King.—Particular account of the death of Charles the IIId.

February 18, 1685.

THE letter I do myself the honour to write to your Majesty to-day is only to give you an exact account

count of what happened; of most importance, at the death of the King of England. His illness, which began on Monday morning the 12th of February, had divers changes the following days; sometimes he was thought out of danger, and then something happened that made it judged his disorder was mortal; in fine, on Thursday 15 February about noon, I was informed from a good quarter, that there were no hopes, and that the physicians believed he could not hold out the night. I went immediately to Whitehall; the Duke of York had given orders to the officers who guarded the door of the anti-chamber to let me pass at any hour; he was continually in the King his brother's room; from time to time he came out to give orders upon what was passing in the town. The report was more than once spread that the King was dead. As soon as I arrived, the Duke of York said to me, "The physicians think the King in extream danger; I desire you to assure your master, that he shall always have in me a faithful and grateful servant." I was five hours in the King's anti-chamber. The Duke of York made me come into the bed-chamber several times, and spoke to me of what was passing without doors, and of the assurances given him from every quarter that all was very quiet in the town, and that he should be proclaimed King the moment the King his brother was dead. I went out for some time to go to the Dutches of Portsmouth's apartment. I found her overwhelmed with grief; the physicians having taken all hopes from her: However, instead of speaking to me of her affliction and the loss she was on the point of sustaining, she went into a small closet, and said to me: "Monsieur the ambassador, I am going to tell you the greatest secret in the world, and my head would be in danger if it was known. The King of England at the bottom of his heart is a Catholic; but he is surrounded with Protestant bishops, and nobody tells him his condition, nor speaks to him of God; I cannot with decency enter the room; besides that the Queen is almost constantly

stantly there; the Duke of York thinks of his own affairs; and has too many of them, to take the care he ought of the King's conscience; go and tell him I have conjured you to warn him to think of what can be done to save the King's soul. He commands the room, and can turn out whom he will; lose no time, for if it is deferred ever so little, it will be too late."

I returned instantly to find the Duke of York, and begged him to make a pretence of going to the Queen, who had left the King's room, and who having fainted was just blooded. The room communicated with both apartments; I followed him to the Queen's, and told him what the Dutchess of Portsmouth said to me. He recovered himself as from a deep lethargy, and said, "You are in the right; there is no time to lose. I will hazard all rather than not do my duty on this occasion." An hour after he returned under the same pretence of going to the Queen, and told me he had spoken to the King his brother, and found him resolved not to take the sacrament which the Protestant bishops had pressed him to receive; that this had surprized them much, but that one or other of them would remain always in the room, if he did not find a pretence to make every body leave it: in order that he might have an opportunity of speaking to the King his brother with freedom, and disposing him to make a formal renunciation of heresy, and confess himself to a catholic priest.

We thought of various expedients. The Duke of York proposed that I should ask leave to speak to the King his brother, to tell him something in secret from your Majesty, and that every body should go out. I offered to do so, but represented to him, that besides the great rumour it would make, there was no likelihood of my being allowed to remain in private with the King of England and himself, long enough for what we had to do. The Duke of York then bethought himself of sending for the Queen, as if it had been to take her last farewell, and ask pardon of the King, if she had ever in any thing disobeyed him, who was on his part to

return the same ceremony to her. At last the Duke of York resolved to speak to the King his brother in presence of the company, yet so as no person might hear what he said to him; because this would remove all suspicion, and it would be believed that he spoke to him only of affairs of state, and of what he wished to be done after his death. Thus, without any further precaution, the Duke of York stooped down to the King his brother's ear, after having ordered that no one should approach. I was in the room, and more than 20 persons at the door which was open. What the Duke of York said was not heard, but the King of England said from time to time very loud, "Yes, with all my heart. He sometimes made the Duke of York repeat what he said, because he did not easily hear him.

This lasted near a quarter of an hour. The Duke of York again went out as if he had gone to the Queen, and said to me: "The King has consented that I should bring a priest to him: but I dare not bring any of the Dutchess's, they are too well known; send and find one quickly." I told him I would do it with all my heart, but I believed too much time would be lost; and that I had just seen all the Queen's priests in a closet near the chamber. He said you are right: at the same time he perceived the Earl of Castlemethor, who with warmth embraced the proposal made him, and undertook to speak to the Queen; he came back in an instant and said: "Should I hazard my head, in this, I would do it with pleasure; but I do not know one of the Queen's priests who understands or speaks English." On this we resolved to send to the Venetian Resident for an English priest, but as the time pressed, the Earl of Castlemethor went where the Queen's priests were, and found amongst them one Hudelston a Scotchman who saved the King of England after the battle of Worcester, and who by act of parliament had been excepted from all the laws made against the Catholics, and against the priests; they put a wig and gown on him to disguise him: and the Earl of Castlemethor conducted him

him to the door of an apartment that joined by a small step to the King's chamber. The Duke of York, to whom I had given notice that all was ready, sent Chiffins to receive and bring in Mr. Hudleston; soon after he said aloud: "The King wills that every body should retire, except the Earls of Bath and Feversham:" The first was Lord of the bed-chamber, and the other was in waiting. The physicians went into a closet, the door of which was immediately shut, and Chiffins brought Mr. Hudleston in. The Duke of York in presenting him, said: "Sire, here is a man who saved your life, and is now come to save your soul." The King answered, "He is welcome:" He afterwards confessed himself with great sentiments of devotion and repentance. The Earl of Castlemethor had taken care to have Hudleston instructed by a Portuguese Monk of the bare-footed Carmelites in what he had to say to the King on such an occasion; for of himself he was no great doctor; but the Duke of York told me he acquitted himself very well in his function, and that he made the King formally promise to declare himself openly a Catholic, if he recovered his health. He then received absolution, the communion, and even the extreme unction; all this lasted about three quarters of an hour. In the antichamber every one looked at another; but nobody said any thing but by their eyes and in whispers: the presence of Lord Bath and Lord Feversham, who are protestants, has satisfied the bishops a little; but the Queen's women and the other priests saw so much going and coming, that I do not think the secret can be long kept.

After the King of England received the communion, he became a little better; it is certain he spoke more intelligibly, and had more strength; we hoped that God was willing to work a miracle by restoring him; but the physicians judged his illness was not abated, and that he could not outlive the night. He nevertheless appeared much more easy, and spoke with more feeling and understanding than he had done from

He had seen him a little before in private, and the Duke returned to Holland.

10 at night to 8 in the morning. He often spoke quite aloud to the Duke of York in terms full of tenderness and friendship: he twice recommended to him the Dutchess of Portsmouth and the Duke of Richmond. He recommended to him also all his other children. He made no mention of the Duke of Monmouth, good nor bad. He often expressed his confidence in the mercy of God. The bishop of Bath and Wells, who was his chaplain, read some prayers, and spoke to him of God. The King shewed by his head that he heard him. The bishop was not officious in saying any thing particular to him, or proposing that he should make a profession of his faith; he was apprehensive of a refusal, but feared still more, as I believe, to irritate the Duke of York.

The King of England, was perfectly sensible the whole night, and spoke upon all things with great calmness. At 6 o'clock in the morning he asked what hour it was, and said: "Open the curtains, that I may once more see day." He suffered great pain, and at 7 o'clock they bled him in hopes it might lessen his pain. At half an hour after 8 he began to speak with great difficulty: at 10 his senses were quite gone; and he died at noon without any struggle or convulsion. The new king retired to his apartment, was unanimously acknowledged, and then proclaimed.

I thought it my duty to give your Majesty an exact account of what passed on this occasion; and I esteem myself happy that God granted me the favour to have some part in it. I am, &c.

Notwithstanding that Charles the 2^d, during more than two thirds of his reign, acted against the general inclinations of his subjects, yet he died extremely lamented by them. It is not impossible that the following stroke of his character in the manuscript notes of the Earl of Dartmouth upon bishop Burnet's history, may account for this.

"I was

“I was told by one that was very conversant with him, that he had a constant maxim, never to fall out with any body, let the provocation be never so great. Which he said he had found great benefit by all his life, and the reason he gave him for it was, that he did not know how soon it might be necessary to have them again for his best friends.”

Perhaps a review of the whole of this Prince's conduct, as it appears from the papers above referred to, may show, that in Princes as well as in private persons, the common maxim is a true one, “That honesty is always the best policy.”

B O O K II.

THE first conversation which King James had after his brother's death with Barillon, was a sure prognostic of his future fate, Barillon relates it as follows :

*Extract d'une dépêche de M. Barillon au Roy, 1685,
Fevrier 19.*

LE Roy d'Angleterre me fit hier au soir entrer dans son cabinet, et après m'avoir parlé de diverses choses de dedans qui ne sont pas de grande importance, il me dit, vous allez peutêtre être surpris, mais j'espère que vous serez de mon avis quand je vous aurai dit mes raisons. J'ai résolu de convoquer incessamment un parlement, et de l'assembler au mois de Mai. Je publierai en même tems une déclaration pour me maintenir dans la jouissances des mêmes revenus qu'avoit le Roy mon frere. Sans cette proclamation pour un parlement, je hazarderois trop de m'emparer d'abord de ce qui s'est établi pendant la vie du feu Roy : c'est un coup décisif pour moi d'entrer en possession et en jouissance ; car dans la suite, il me sera bien plus facile ou d'éloigner le parlement, ou de me maintenir par des autres voyes qui me paroistroient bien plus convenables. Beaucoup de gens diront que je me determine trop promptement à convoquer un parlement ; mais si j'attendois d'avantage, j'en perdrais tout le mérite : je connois les Anglois ; il ne faut pas leur temoigner de crainte dans les commencemens ; les gens mal intentionnés auroient formé des cabales pour demander un parlement, et se seroient attiré la faveur de la nation dont ils auroient abusé dans la suite ; je sçai bien que je trouverai encore des difficultés à surmonter ; mais j'en viendrai à bout, et me met-

trai

trai en état de reconnoître les obligations infinies que j'ai au Roi votre maitre.

Je connois en quels embarras le feu Roy mon frere s'est jetté quand il s'est laissé ebranler à l'égard de la France ; j'empêcherai bien qu'un parlement ne se mêle des affaires étrangères ; et je le separerai des que je verrai qu'ils feront paroître aucune mauvaise volonté.

C'est à vous expliquer au Roi votre maitre ce que je vous dis, afin qu'il ne trouve pas à redire que j'aie pris si promptement une résolution si importante, et sans le consulter, comme je le dois et le veux faire en tout ; mais j'aurois gâté extrêmement mes affaires, si j'avois différé seulement de huit jours, car je serois demeuré privé des revenus que je conserve ; et la moindre opposition, de la part de ceux qui auroient refusé de payer les droits, m'auroit engagé à les lever par force au lieu que je prétendrai avoir la loy pour moi présentement ; et il m'en sera fort aisé de reduire ceux qui voudront s'opposer à ce que je fais.

Le Roy d'Angleterre a ajouté à cela toutes sortes de protestations de reconnaissance et d'attachement pour votre Majesté ; il me dit que sans son appui et sa protection, il ne pouvoit rien entreprendre de ce qu'il avoit dans l'esprit en faveur des Catholiques ; qu'il favoit assez, qu'il ne seroit jamais en sûreté que la liberté de conscience pour eux ne fût entièrement établie en Angleterre ; que c'est à cela à quoi il travaillera avec une entière application des qu'il y verra de la possibilité ; que j'avois vu avec quelle facilité il avoit été reconnu et proclamé Roy ; que le reste arrivera de la même manière en se conduisant avec fermeté et sagesse.

Je dis à sa Majesté Britannique que je ne prendrois pas le parti de répondre sur le champ à ce qu'il me faisoit l'honneur de me dire ; que je ne pouvois jamais douter de la sincérité de ses sentimens à l'égard de votre Majesté ; et que je le croiois trop habile et trop sage pour rien faire qui put altérer une liaison fondée sur tant d'expérience et de raison ; que je rendrois compte à votre Majesté de ce qu'il m'avoit dit ; et que quand j'y aurois pensé, je lui dirois librement mes sentimens, qui ne devoient être

être d'aucun poids jusques à ce que je parlasse de la part de votre Majesté ; que je lui dirois cependant de moi même, et sans y penser d'avantage, que votre Majesté est en un tel état qu'elle n'a rien à desirer pour l'augmentation de sa puissance et de sa grandeur ; qu'elle a donné des bornes à ses conquêtes dans le tems qu'elle auroit pu facilement les augmenter : que son amitié pour le feu Roi d'Angleterre et pour lui à qui j'avois l'honneur de parler, l'avoit engagé à soutenir leurs interêts et ceux de la Royauté en ce pays cy ; que Dieu avoit benit les desseins de votre Majesté par tout ; et que j'étois assuré qu'elle auroit une joie sensible de son élévation au gouvernement de trois royaumes ; que je ne doutois point que sa conduite ne fût toujours conforme à ce qu'il devoit à sa réputation, et à ses veritables interêts, qui seront de conserver l'amitié de votre Majesté ; et qu'il est juste de se rapporter de ses affaires pour le dedans à ce qu'il en jugera lui même. Je n'ai pas cru, sire, devoir combattre, sans y avoir pensé murement, une résolution déjà prise, et que mes raisons n'auroient pas fait changer : j'ai même estimé qu'il étoit de la dignité de votre Majesté que je ne parusse pas intimidé d'une assemblée de parlement, pour les seuls interêts de votre Majesté, quand le Roy d'Angleterre temoigne n'en rien appréhender. Milord Rochester m'est venu trouver ce matin de la part de sa Majesté Britannique, pour m'expliquer plus au long les motifs de la convocation d'un parlement ; il a ajouté à tout ce que le Roi d'Angleterre m'avoit dit, que s'il n'avoit prevenu les requêtes qu'on lui alloit faire, le garde des sceaux et le Marquis d'Halifax n'auroient pas manqué de le presser d'assembler un parlement ; qu'il avoit voulu les prévenir, et faire connoître que ce qu'il fait vient de son pur mouvement ; que l'avantage présent qu'il tire de cette déclaration est de se mettre en possession du revenu qu'avoit le feu Roy d'Angleterre, aussi bien que de sa couronne ; qu'il auroit été trop à charge à votre Majesté s'il avoit été obligé de lui demander des secours aussi considérables que ceux dont il auroit eu besoin ; que ce qu'il fait ne l'exempte

pas d'avoir recours à votre Majesté; et qu'il espere qu'elle voudra bien dans les commencemens de son regne l'aider à en soutenir les poids; que cette nouvelle obligation, jointe à tant d'autres, l'engagera encore d'avantage à ne se pas departir du chemin, qu'il a cru que le feu Roy son frere devoit tenir à l'égard de votre Majesté; que ce sera le moyen de le faire independent du parlement, et de se mettre en état se soutenir sans parlement, si on lui refuse la continuation des revenus dont le feu Roi jouissoit.

Milord Rochester n'a obmis aucune des raisons qu'il a cru propres à me convaincre, que votre Majesté n'hazarde rien en secourant présentement le Roi d'Angleterre d'une somme considerable; que c'est soutenir son ouvrage et le mettre en état de ne se jamais démentir; que pour lui, il n'a point changé de sentimens, et que son opinion étoit que le Roi son maître ne se peut bien soutenir sans l'aide et le secours de votre Majesté; que ce seroit le laisser à la merci de son peuple, et en état d'être ruiné, si votre Majesté ne lui donnoit pas de nouvelles marques de son amitié dans une occasion si décisive; et que de ce commencement dépendoit tout le bonheur de son maître.

Translation.

Extract of a dispatch from Mr. Barillon to Louis the XIVth.—James's apology to France for calling a parliament.---His aversion to parliaments.---His arbitrary views.---His zeal for Popery.---Gives a hint for money from France.

° February 19, 1685.

Yesterday evening the King of England took me into his closet, and after having talked to me upon several home affairs of no great importance; he said, "You may be perhaps surpris'd, but I hope you will be of my opinion when I have told you my reasons.
I have

I have resolved to call a parliament immediately, and to assemble it in the month of May. I shall publish at the same time a declaration that I am to maintain myself in the enjoyment of the same revenues the King my brother had. Without this proclamation for a parliament, I should hazard too much by taking possession directly of the revenue which was established during the lifetime of my deceased brother. It is a decisive stroke for me to enter into possession and enjoyment. For hereafter it will be much more easy for me either to put off the assembling of parliament, or to maintain myself by other means which may appear more convenient for me. Many people will say that I determine too hastily in calling a parliament; but if I waited longer I should lose the merit of it. I know the English; you must not shew them any fear in the beginning; the malecontents would have formed cabals to demand a Parliament, and thereby have gained the favour of the nation, which they would afterwards have abused. I know very well that I shall yet find difficulties to surmount, but I shall get the better of them, and put myself in a condition to show my great gratitude for the infinite obligations I am under to the King your master."

"I know into what difficulties the deceased king my brother was thrown when he suffered himself to waver with regard to France: I will take good care to hinder parliament from meddling in foreign affairs, and will put an end to the session as soon as I see the members shew any ill will.

"It is your part to explain to the king your master what I say to you, that he may have no cause to complain of my having taken so hastily, so important a resolution, without consulting him as I ought to do, and will do in every thing; but I should have hurt my affairs extremely if I had deferred it only eight days; for I should have continued deprived of revenues which I now preserve, and the least opposition on the part of those who refused to pay the duties, would have engaged me

me in levying them by force: instead of which, I shall pretend now that I have the law on my side, and it will be very easy for me to reduce those who would oppose what I do."

To this the king of England added all kinds of protestations of gratitude and attachment to your Majesty; he told me, that without your support and protection, he could undertake nothing of what he designed in favour of the Catholics; that he knew well enough he should never be in safety, till a liberty of conscience was established firmly in their favour in England: that it was to this he was wholly to apply himself as soon as he saw a possibility; that I had seen with what facility he had been acknowledged and proclaimed king; and that the rest would come about in the same manner, by his conducting himself with firmness and wisdom.

I told his Britannic Majesty, I would not take upon me to make an answer upon the spot to what he had done me the honour to say to me; that I could never doubt the sincerity of his sentiments with regard to your Majesty, and believed him too wise and too able to do any thing which might alter an union founded on so much experience and reason; that I would give your Majesty an account of what he had said, and when I had thought upon it, would tell him my sentiments freely, which ought to be of no weight till I spoke to him on your Majesty's part; that I could, however, tell him of myself, without thinking more of it, that your Majesty is in such a situation, as to have nothing to desire for the augmentation of your power and grandeur; that you had put limits to your conquests at a time, when you might easily have augmented them; that your friendship for the deceased king of England, and for him to whom I had the honour to speak, had engaged you to support their interests and those of monarchy in this country; that God had blessed your Majesty's designs every where, and I was assured you would feel a sensible joy at his elevation to the government of three kingdoms; that I doubted not
but

but his conduct would always be conformable to what he owed to his reputation, and to his real interests, which were to preserve your Majesty's friendship ; and that it was just he should act with regard to the interior affairs of his kingdom as he should judge proper himself. I did not think myself, Sire, obliged to dispute without mature deliberation, a resolution already taken, and which my arguments would not have altered : I even esteemed it for your Majesty's dignity, that I should not appear intimidated by a meeting of parliament, on account of your Majesty's interests alone, when the King of England shewed so little apprehension of his own.

Lord Rochester came to me this morning from his Britannick Majesty, to explain more at large his motives for calling a parliament ; he added, to what the king of England had said, that if he had not prevented the requests which would have been made to him, the Keeper of the Great Seal and the Marquis of Halifax would not have failed to press him to assemble a parliament ; that his intention was to prevent them, and make them know that what he did was of his own free motion ; that the present advantage he means to draw from his declaration is, to put himself in possession of the revenue which the late king had, as well as of his crown ; that it would have been chargeable to your Majesty, if he had been obliged to ask of you such considerable supplies as those he would have had occasion for ; that what he does, does not however exempt him from having recourse to your Majesty ; and he hoped, that in the beginning of his reign your Majesty would help him to support the weight of it ; and that this fresh obligation, joined to many others, would engage him still more not to depart from the road which he used to think the deceased king, his brother, should have kept with regard to your Majesty : that this will be the means to make him independent of parliament, and put him in a condition of supporting himself without parliament, if they should refuse him the con-

tinuation

tinuation of the revenues which the deceased king enjoyed.

Lord Rochester omitted none of the arguments which he thought would convince me, that your Majesty hazarded nothing in supporting the King of England at present with a considerable sum of money; that it is supporting the work of this Prince, and putting it out of his power ever to swerve from it; that as for himself, he had not changed his sentiments, and his opinion was, that the King, his Master, could not support himself without your Majesty's aid and supplies; that it would leave him to the mercy of his people, and in a condition of being ruined, if your Majesty did not give him new marks of your friendship in so decisive a conjuncture; and that from this beginning depended all his master's good fortune."

Such were the views of James. Louis, on his part again, prepared to make the same use of that Prince which he had made of his brother, and by the same means. For without waiting for James's hints for money, mentioned in this letter of the 19th of February, he had, as soon as he heard of the death of Charles, ordered money to be remitted to Barillon, for the service of king James. What effect that produced in the court of England will be seen in the following dispatch.

*Extrait d'une dépêche de M. Barillon au Roy, 1685,
Fevrier, 26.*

JE recûs avant hier la dépêche de votre Majesté du 20 de ce mois, par le retour du courrier que j'avois dépêché; j'allai à l'instant trouver le Roi d'Angleterre; je lui donnai la lettre de la main de votre Majesté, qu'il eût la bonté de me faire lire; il me parut recevoir avec une entière sensibilité les témoignages de l'amitié de votre Majesté; je crus n'en devoir pas faire à deux fois, et ne pas différer à l'informer

In the Depot.

former du soin que votre Majesté avoit eu, d'assembler en si peu de tems des lettres de change pour la somme de cinq cent mille livres, et de me les envoyer à fin que j'en puisse faire l'usage qui conviendrait à son service. Ce Prince fût extrêmement surpris, et me dit, les larmes aux yeux, " Il n'appartient qu'au Roi votre maître d'agir d'une manière si noble et si pleine de bonté pour moi; je vous avoue, que je suis plus sensible à ce qu'il fait en cela, qu'à tout ce qui peut arriver dans la suite de ma vie; car je vois clairement le fonds de son cœur, et combien il a envié que mes affaires prospèrent; il a été au devant de ce que je pouvois desirer, et à prévenu mes besoins; je ne saurois jamais reconnoître assez un tel procédé; temoignez lui ma reconnoissance, et soiez garant de l'attachement que j'aurai tout ma vie pour lui."

Je ne saurois, Sirer exprime, quelle joie eût ce Prince de voir une si prompte et si solide marque de l'amitié de votre Majesté, et la promptitude avec laquelle votre Majesté avoit envoyé une somme aussi considérable. Je lui dis, que pour ne rien dérober à ce qu'il devoit à votre Majesté, je lui avouerois franchement, que dans le trouble où je me trouvois au moment de la mort du feu Roi d'Angleterre, j'avois songé qu'à dépêcher un courrier pour en informer votre Majesté, et que je ne lui avois pas représenté combien il importoit de lui envoyer un prompt secours; que si en cela j'avois fait un manquement, il étoit bien réparé par ce que votre Majesté a fait. Le Roy d'Angleterre m'interrompit, et dit, qu'il ne pouvoit assez admirer la prévoyance de votre Majesté, et le soin de lui donner si promptement une marque si essentielle de son amitié; que votre Majesté n'y feroit point trompée; et qu'il se souviendrait de ce qu'elle faisoit pour lui affermir la couronne sur sa tête.

Des que je fus sorti, il s'enferma avec milord Rochester, milord Sonderland, et milord Godolphin, et leur conta ce que je lui avois dit de la part de votre Majesté, en des termes qui ajoutent encore à ceux dont

Il s'étoit servi avec moi. Ils vinrent l'un après l'autre me dire à l'oreille que j'avois donné la vie au Roi leur maître, et que quoi qu'il se tint assuré de l'amitié de votre Majesté, cette dernière preuve, donnée si à propos, l'obligeoit au delà de tout ce qu'on pouvoit croire.

Je m'attendois, bien, que ce que votre Majesté a fait, produiroit un bon effet, mais je ne croiois pas en recevoir tant de témoignages de reconnoissance, et je vois par là, que peut-être avoit on voulu inspirer au Roi d'Angleterre quelque crainte que votre Majesté ne feroit pas de grands efforts pour le soutenir. Je dis pourtant cela de moi même, car j'ai vu dans tous les discours de sa Majesté Britannique une grande confiance en l'amitié de votre Majesté.

Je dois lui rendre compte de ce qui s'étoit passé la veille ; j'eus une conférence avec les trois ministres. Milord Rochester, comme président du conseil, m'expliqua en peu de mots ce qu'ils avoient chargé du Roy leur maître de me dire, qui se terminoit à représenter à votre Majesté le besoin de ses affaires, et combien il lui importoit d'être secouru dans le commencement de son regne.

Milord Rochester entra ensuite dans la discussion de traité fait avec le feu Roy d'Angleterre ; nous convinmes de tout, même de ce qui restoit pour le parfait paiement des trois années de subsides échues. Milord Rochester dit qu'il y avoit eu toujours entre lui et moi un différend sur le compte, en ce qu'il s'étoit attendu, et avoit cru, que votre Majesté donneroit deux millions par an, pendant trois ans ; qu'il étoit vrai que j'avois dit de mon côté, que je n'avois jamais en pouvoir de promettre que quinze cent mille livres pour chacune des deux dernières années ; que cette difficulté n'avoit pas été terminée ; et que l'on n'avoit pas même parlé de la quatrième année qui est presque échue, parcequ'on ne prevoyoit pas que votre Majesté eut voulu discontinuer un subside au feu Roy d'Angleterre, dont la conduite en tout étoit si agréable à votre Majesté, et s'étoit si peu démentie en toutes occasions. Je répondis à cela, que je ne pren-

drois pas le parti de rien contester sur des matieres de fait, à moins qu'elles ne fussent entierement constantes; que je n'avois pu excéder mes pouvoirs, et que je ne l'avois pas fait, ainsi qu'il n'y avoit qu'à se tenir à ce que dont nous etions convenus; et que je ne laisserois pas de représenter à votre Majesté tout ce qui s'étoit dit par eux, afin qu'elle vit ce qu'elle jugeroit convenable à son service, et au bien des affaires du Roy d'Angleterre.

Milord Rochester finit en disant, nous n'avons jamais eu de contestation, Monsieur l'Ambassadeur et moi; car comme ce que le Roy son maitre a fourni, étoit une gratification sans conditions, je n'étois pas en droit de disputer sur le plus ou le moins; je crois pourtant, que ce que nous avons fait ensemble a été pour le service des deux Roys, et que l'un et l'autre ne s'en sont pas mal trouvés: il ajouta que son sentiment étoit de traiter encore de la même maniere, et d'établir une confiance et une liaison pareille à celle qui a déjà si bien réussi. Je convins de ce qu'il avoit avancé; j'y ajoutai que quoique le feu Roi d'Angleterre ne se fût pas obligé formellement à renoncer à son traité avec l'Espagne, il avoit néanmoins tenu sur cela la conduite qu'on en devoit attendre; que le Roy d'à présent étoit encore plus libre; et qu'il n'étoit en aucune façon du monde obligé à ce traité, de l'exécution du quel le Roy son frere avoit jugé être suffisamment dispensé. Les trois ministres convinrent de ce que je disois, et me dirent, que le Roy leur maitre se tenoit entierement degagé de l'obligation, ou étoit entré le feu Roy, quelque légère qu'elle fut.

Je promis d'écrire à votre Majesté efficacement pour favoriser la demande, que devoit faire milord Churchill à votre Majesté, d'un secours present et considerable. Nous eumes hier une autre conference par ordre de sa Majesté Britannique, mais il ne fût plus question de rien de ce qui avoit été traité dans la precedente. Les ministres s'efforcèrent, l'un après l'autre, à me faire entendre, qu'ils ne croient plus devoir ni capituler ni discuter les interêts du Roy leur maitre avec moi; que votre Majesté les avoit mis en état de ne rien dire; et qu'un procé-

cedé si franc et si genereux de sa part avoit obligé le Roy leur maître a leur donner ordre de me temoigner sa reconnoissance, et de me prier la représenter à votre Majesté telle qu'il la ressent ; que milord Churcheil n'avoit autre charge que de remercier votre Majesté, et que pour le surplus, on se remettoit à ce que je connoissois de l'état des affaires pour porter votre Majesté à faire ce qu'il lui plairoit, jugeant que l'on ne devoit rien demander à un Prince qui a prévenu ce qu'on pouvoit attendre de lui.

Le Roy d'Angleterre me parla hier plusieurs fois, et me dit, qu'il est pénétré de reconnoissance, et qu'il se croit en état de ne rien craindre, étant assuré comme il l'est de amitié de votre Majesté. Je me suis peut être trop étendu sur tout cela, mais il est, ce me semble à propos, que votre Majesté connoisse combien sa Majesté Britannique et ses ministres ont été sensibles à ce que votre Majesté a fait. Je n'ai point encore donné d'argent, il faut quelques jours pour l'échéance des lettres de change, dont on ne veut pas même que je presse trop le paiement, pour ne pas faire soupçonner à la bourse ce qui se passe ; ainsi je recevrai encore des ordres de votre Majesté, avant que je sois en état de faire aucun paiement considerable. Il ne me paroît pas même qu'on ait aucune inquiétude icy de toucher de l'argent ; on se fie tellement à votre Majesté, que l'on croit l'argent aussi bien chez moi que s'il étoit à Withal. Je suis peutêtre trompé, mais je ne pense pas que votre Majesté puisse rien faire qui lui soit de plus grande utilité pour l'avenir, que d'avoir prevenu ce que l'on pouvoit desirer en une occasion si importante.

Sa Majesté Britannique me dit encore hier au soir, “ Je ne regarde pas l'état ou je suis, mais l'état ou je pouvois être. Tout est paisible en Angleterre et en Ecosse ; mais le Roy votre maître m'a secouru dans un tems qu'il ne pouvoit savoir s'il y auroit une sedition à Londres, et si je ne'n serois pas chassé.”

Translation.

Extratt of a dispatch from Monsieur Barillon to Louis the XIVth.—Louis sends James 500,000 livres.—James receives them with tears in his eyes.—The joy of Sunderland, Rochester, and Godolphin.—Churchill sent to France to ask more money.

February 26, 1685.

“**I** Received the day before yesterday your Majesty’s dispatch of the 20th of this month by the return of the courier I sent. I went that instant to wait on the king of England. I gave him the letter of your Majesty’s hand, which he was so good as to make me read: he seemed to receive your Majesty’s testimonies of friendship with the greatest sensibility. I thought I could not delay informing him of your Majesty’s care in getting in so short a time, bills of exchange for the sum of five hundred thousand livres, and sending them to me, in order to my making such use of them as should be most conducive to his service. This prince was extremely surprized, and said with tears in his eyes, “It is the part of the king your master alone, to act in a manner so noble, and so full of goodness to me. I own to you that I feel more sensibly what he has done in this, than any thing that may happen to me in the course of my life: for I plainly see the bottom of his heart, and how desirous he is that my affairs may prosper. He has even outrun what I could possibly wish, and has prevented my wants. I can never enough acknowledge such a proceeding. Inform him of my gratitude, and be my pledge for the attachment I shall for ever have to him.”

“I cannot, Sire, express what joy this prince had to see so speedy, and so solid a proof of your Majesty’s friendship, and the readiness with which you had sent so considerable a sum. I told him not to detract from what

what he owed to your Majesty, I would frankly own to him, that in the trouble I was in at the time of the deceased king of England's death, I had thought of nothing further than dispatching a courier to inform your Majesty of it; and that I had not represented how much it imported to send him a speedy supply; and if in this I had been guilty of a neglect, it was well repaired by what your Majesty had done. The king of England interrupted me, and said, he could not sufficiently admire your Majesty's foresight and care in giving him so speedily such an essential mark of your friendship; that your Majesty should not be deceived, and that he would remember what you had done to fix the crown upon his head.

As soon as I was gone, he shut himself up with the Lords Rochester, Sunderland and Godolphin, and informed them of what I had told him on the part of your Majesty in terms which added still to those which he had used to me: they came to me one after the other to whisper in my ear, that I had given life to the king their master; and that though he had assured himself of your Majesty's friendship, this last proof of it given so apropos, obliged him beyond all that could be believed.

I expected that what your Majesty has done would produce a good effect, but could not believe I should receive so many testimonies of gratitude; and I see by it that people were willing to have created a fear in the king of England that your Majesty would not make any great efforts to support him: I say this, however, of myself; for I have seen, from all the discourses of his Britannick Majesty, a great confidence in your Majesty's friendship.

I must give your Majesty an account of what passed in the evening: I had a conference with the three ministers: Lord Rochester, as president of the council, explained to me in few words what they had in charge from the king their master to say to me, which ended in representing the necessity of his affairs, and how

much it imported him to receive supplies in the beginning of his reign.

Lord Rochester then entered into the discussion of the treaty made with the deceased king of England. We agreed on every thing, even as to what remained for the complete payment of the three last years subsidy. Lord Rochester said, there had always been a difference between him and me in accounting. Because he always expected and believed that your Majesty would give two millions a year during three years; that it was true I had always said on my side that I had never had a power to promise more than fifteen hundred thousand livres for each of the two years; that this difficulty had not been ended; and that they had not even spoken of the fourth year which was now almost elapsed, because they did not foresee that your Majesty would have discontinued the deceased king of England's subsidy, whose conduct upon the whole was so agreeable to your Majesty, and had been so uniform on all occasions. To this I answered, that I could not take upon me to dispute any thing of matters of fact, unless they were quite plain; that I could not exceed my powers, and had not done it, so that we could not keep to what was agreed on; and that I should not fail to represent to your Majesty all that they had said, to the end you might judge what was convenient for your service, and the advantage of the King of England's affairs.

Lord Rochester finished by saying, The ambassador and I never had a contest; for as what the king his master gave was a gratification without conditions, I had no right to dispute upon the *more or less*; I believe however that what we did together has been for the service of the two kings, and that neither the one nor the other has been the worse for it. He added, it was his opinion still to treat in the same manner, and to establish a confidence and union similar to that which had already succeeded so well. I agreed in what he advanced: and added, that though the deceased king of England was not formally obliged to renounce his treaty with Spain,
he

he had nevertheless preserved that conduct with regard to it which could have been expected; that the present king was still more free from the treaty with Spain, and not in any shape obliged to a treaty, from the execution of which even the king his brother thought himself sufficiently dispensed. The three ministers agreed to what I said, and told me that the king their master held himself entirely disengaged from the obligation, however light it was, which the deceased king had entered into.

I promised to write effectually to your Majesty to favour the demand Lord Churchill is to make of a present and considerable supply. We had yesterday another conference by his Britannick Majesty's orders, but there was nothing more said on what was treated of in the preceding one; the ministers strove one after another to make me understand that they did not think it their duty to capitulate, or discuss the interests of the king their master with me; that your Majesty had put it out of their power to say any thing; and that a proceeding so frank and so generous on your part had obliged the king their master to give them orders to assure me of his gratitude, and to beg me to represent it to your Majesty such as he feels it; that Lord Churchill had no other charge than to thank your Majesty; and for any thing further, they appealed to what I knew of the state of affairs to induce your Majesty to do what you shall please, judging that they ought not to ask any thing from a prince who had prevented what they might have expected from him.

The king of England spoke to me several times yesterday, and said, that he is penetrated with gratitude, and that he believes he has nothing to fear, being assured as he is of your Majesty's friendship. I have perhaps too much enlarged upon all this, but it appeared necessary that your Majesty should know how much his Britannick Majesty and his ministers have been sensible of what you have done. I have not yet given any money.

money. It will be some days before the bills of exchange become due, the payment of which they would not have me press too much, lest a suspicion should arise upon Change of what is passing; so that I may still receive your Majesty's orders again before I can make any considerable payment; it does not even appear that they have any uneasiness here about the money. They confide so much in your Majesty that they believe the money as safe with me as at Whitehall; I may be deceived, but I do not think your Majesty could have done any thing of greater use to you for the future, than having prevented what they might have desired on so important an occasion.

His Britannick Majesty said again to me yesterday in the evening, I don't regard the state in which I am at present, but the state in which I may be. All is peaceable in England and Scotland; but the king your master helped me at a time when it could not be known if there might not be a sedition in London, and whether I should not be driven out of it."

Upon the death of king Charles, the prince of Orange endeavoured to bring about a reconciliation between king James and himself, and for this purpose sent over Monsieur Overkerque from Holland, and wrote himself to the king's minister the lord high treasurer Rochester to intreat his good offices. James received his advances with the same insincerity with which he suspected they were made.

In the Depot.

Barillon writes on the 26th of February 1684-5, that it having been said the prince of Orange was to wait upon the king to vindicate himself, the king told Barillon that he would receive the visit, if the prince asked leave to make it: Barillon adds; "*Il y entre un peu de plaisir, que sa Majesté Britannique prendra de voir ce prince réduit à se soumettre.*" "There enters into the matter a little pleasure, which his Britannick Majesty

Majesty will take to see the prince reduced to submission."

On the first of March 1684-5, Barillon writes that James, on making an apology to him for having written to the prince of Orange upon the death of king Charles, used these words: "Qu'il lui avoit écrit deux lignes de sa main, pour lui donner simplement part de la nouvelle, sans y ajouter aucune autre temoignage ny d'amitié ny de bienveillance." "That he had written him two lines with his hand, merely to inform him of the news, without adding any other testimony either of friendship or good will." The letter of notification is in king William's box, and confirms Barillon's relation. It is in the following words.

In the Depot.

James the IIId, to the Prince of Orange.—Notifies the death of King Charles.

Whitehall, February 6, 1685.

"**I** Have only time to tell you, that it has pleased God Almighty, to take out of this world, the king my brother. You will from others have an account of what distemper he died of, and that all the usual ceremonies were performed this day in proclaiming me king in the city, and other parts. I must end, which I do, with assuring you, you shall find me as kind to you as you can expect."

On the 8th of March 1685, Barillon writes to his court, that James told him he was obliged to preserve appearances with the prince of Orange, in order to prevent the popular party from finding a head, and to make them believe the prince and he were united; but that the king added, he knew the prince too well to be deceived by him.

In the Depot.

The following dispatch gives a particular account of what passed between king James, and Monsieur Overkirk when the prince sent him to England.

Extrait

Extrait d'une dépêche de M. Barillon au Roy.

Mars 1, 1685.

In the Depot.

“**J**’ Arrive de Whitehall : le Roy d’ Angleterre m’a mené ce soir dans son cabinet, et m’a dit que le Sieu Overkerque lui avoit fait demander une audience particuliere un peu avant son souper ; que l’ ayant admis, il lui avoit dit, M. le Prince d’ Orange non seulement se repentoit de sa conduite auprès du feu Roy d’ Angleterre, mais qu’il reconnoissoit de bonne foi les fautes qu’il avoit commises envers sa Majesté Britannique à present regnante ; qu’il fera tout ce que fera en son pouvoir pour les reparer, et pour meriter ses bonnes graces par une soumission entiere à ses volontés, et un attachement sincere à ses interests ; et qu’il suivroit ponctuellement ce qui lui seroit prescrit. Le Roy d’ Angleterre m’a dit que sa reponse avoit été, qu’il verroit toujours avec plaisir M. le Prince d’ Orange dans son devoir, et temoigner un veritable repentir du passé, mais qu’il ne pouvoit admettre ses soumissions, ni croire les protestations qu’on lui feroit de sa part sincere, si sa soumission, n’ étoit entiere et sans exception ; que le feu Roy d’ Angleterre et lui avoient établi une liaison avec votre Majesté à laquelle M. le Prince d’ Orange avoit toujours été opposé, et que s’il vouloit changer de sentimens à l’ egard du dedans de l’ Angleterre, il falloit le faire aussi à l’ egard de votre Majesté, et tenir une conduite differente de celle qu’il a tenue depuis longtems à son egard ; que ce premier pas etoit d’ une absolue nécessité, afin qu’il put ajouter quelque foi à ce qui lui seroit dit de la part de M. le Prince d’ Orange.”

Translation.

Translation.

Extract of a dispatch from Mr. Barillon to Louis the XIVth.—James refuses to receive the submissions of the Prince of Orange, unless he shall connect himself with France.

March 1, 1685.

I Am just come from Whitehall : the king of England took me this evening into his closet, and told me that Mr. Overkerque had asked a private audience of him a little before supper ; that having admitted him, he said, that the Prince of Orange not only repented of his conduct to the deceased King of England, but sincerely acknowledged the faults he had committed towards his Britannick Majesty now reigning ; that he would do all in his power to make reparation, and to merit his good graces by an entire submission to his will, and a sincere attachment to his interests ; and would follow punctually what should be prescribed to him. The King of England told me his answer was, that it would always give him pleasure to see the Prince of Orange in his duty, and shew a true repentance of what was passed ; but he could not admit his submissions, nor believe the protestations made on his part to be sincere, if his submission was not complete, and without exception ; that the deceased King of England and himself had maintained an union with your Majesty, which the Prince of Orange had always opposed ; and if he inclined to change his sentiments with regard to the home affairs of England, he must also do it with regard to your Majesty, and observe a different conduct from that which he had held for a long time past with regard to you ; that this first step was absolutely necessary in order to his being able to give any credit to what might be said on the Prince of Orange's part."

Barillon

In the *Depos.*

Barillon writes to his court on the 5th and 19th of March, 1685, that James had desired of Overkirk that the Prince should remove the Duke of Monmouth from Holland, and his adherents from the British regiments in the Dutch service, and had renewed his application for the Prince's attaching himself to France; that the Prince had consented to the two first articles, but had avoided giving an answer upon the last. Part of this relation is also confirmed by the following letters from the King and Queen to the Prince, in King William's box.

King James to the Prince of Orange.—Is pleased with the concessions which the Prince has made.

Whitehall, March 6, 1685.

“THIS day, just before dinner, as I came from one of the regiments of guards in Hyde Park, I received yours the 11th, with which, and what M. Overkerk said to me since, I am fully satisfied, and shall rely upon the assurance you gave me in your letter, and what he said to me from you, which has had all the effect with me you can desire. It is now very late, and I have had so much business all this day, till now, that I have not time to say all I intended; and as to the proposing some officers to you, in the place of those you have turned out, by the next I shall recommend some to you, and shall soon dispatch Skelton into Holland to you, in the room of Mr. Chudleigh; and you may be sure, that so long as you keep those measures with me which you profess, of which I make no doubt, you shall find me as kind to you as you can desire.”

King

King James to the Prince of Orange.-----To the same purpose.

Whitehall, March 16, 1685.

“**I** Would not let this bearer, Monf. Overkerke, return back to you, without writing to you by him, and assuring you, at the same time, that it shall not be my fault if we do not continue upon very good terms. He can give you so true an account of all things here, I having informed him the best I can of affairs here, so that I need say no more now, but to assure you, you shall ever find me as kind as you can desire.”

King James to the Prince of Orange.-----To the same purpose.

Whitehall, March 17, 1685.

“**W**HAT you have written to me lately, and the assurances you have given by Monf. Overkirk, have so fully satisfied me, that I have ordered this bearer Mr. Skelton, (whom I send to succeed Mr. Chudleigh) to assure it you from me, and hope, for the time to come, the same confidence will be established between us, as the near relation and the good of our family requires. What else I have to say, I refer to him, to whom you may give entire belief, and have charged him also to let you know what measures I intend to take as to affairs abroad, that there may be no mistakes, and be assured I shall always be as kind to you as you can desire.”

King

King James's Queen to the Prince of Orange.---To the same purpose.

Whitehall, March 16, 1685.

“THE line you sent me by Mr. Overke, and the compliments he made me from you were so obliging, that I know not how to thank you half enough for it, but I hope you believe that all the marks you give me of your friendship are very agreeable to me, and so must desire the continuance of it, which I am sure I shall always deserve from you ; for nothing can ever alter me from being, with all sincerity, and without compliments, truly yours.

M. R.

Pray follow my example, and write to me without any ceremony, for it is not to be minded between such friends as we are.”

In King William's box there are the two following answers from Lord Rochester to the letters which the Prince of Orange had written him concerning his desire to be reconciled to the King. The first is without date, but must have been written before the other, because he receives the Prince's advances with a distance, as to particulars, which, perhaps, was decent in the prime minister of another Prince. The other enforces the King's desire of having Monmouth removed from Holland.

Lord Rochester to the Prince of Orange.

“C'EST avec bien de la joye que je viens de recevoir de la part de votre Altesse des marques de son resouvenir, et c'est avec toute le soumission imaginable

ble que je luy rends très humbles graces de l'honneur qu'elle me fait de m'honorer de ses commandemens, et de toute la bonté qu'elle temoigne y avoir pour moy. Je puis assurer votre Altesse, qu'elle ne se trompera point, en me faisant l'honneur de croire, que je ne manqueray point a mon devoir en tout ce qui sera de son service ; tous mes souhaits ne tendants à rien plus dans ce monde, que de voir votre Altesse aussi bien dans l'esprit du Roy qu'il convient à une personne si étroitement unie à sa Majesté par naissance et par alliance ; à quoi j'espère voir de si grands acheminements depuis peu, que je ne puis douter d'un bon et heureux succès. Et je crois ne devoir pas celer à votre Altesse qu'elle à en ses mains propres, toute ce qu'elle demande ; ne vous trompes en vous faisant accroire que vous pouvez avoir besoin de mes services, ou que mes pauvres soins puissent être utiles pour un ouvrage de si grand importance. Permettez moi de vous dire que votre Altesse ne doit pas avoir besoin, et par consequent ne veut avoir, d'entremetteur auprès du Roy, et que la forte inclination que votre Altesse temoigne pour faire ce que le Roy attend de vous, et la bonté que sa Majesté a toujours eu a votre égard, ne peuvent manquer de vous combler de joye et de contentement ; dans laquelle personne au monde n'aura plus de part, que celui qui avec toute sorte de soumission demande l'honneur de vos bonnes graces, et qui sera toute sa vie un de vos plus obéissans et plus zelés serviteurs.

ROCHESTER."

Translation.

Earl of Rochester to the Prince of Orange, written soon after the death of Charles.——In answer to one asking his good offices with King James.——General assurances of zeal for his service.

“**I**T is with much joy that I have received marks of your Highness’s remembrance, and it is with all the submission imaginable that I give you most humble thanks for the honour which you have done me of honouring me with your commands, and for all the goodness which you shew me in your letter. I can assure your Highness, that you will not deceive yourself in doing me the honour to believe, that I will never fail in my duty in every thing that will be for your service; all my wishes tending to nothing more in this world, than to see your Highness as well in the favour of the King, as is proper for a person so strictly united to his Majesty by birth and by alliance, to which, I hope, I see such great approaches, within this little time, that I cannot doubt of a good and happy success. And I think I ought not to conceal from your Highness, that you have in your own hands every thing you can ask. Be not deceived in believing that you can have need of my services, or that my poor cares can be useful in a work of so great importance. Permit me to say, that your Highness ought not to have need of, and consequently cannot wish to have a mediator between you and the King, and that the strong inclination which your Highness shews to do what the King expects of you, and the goodness which his Majesty has always had with regard to you, cannot fail to fill you with joy and contentment: in which nobody in the world will have a greater share, than he, who with all sort of submission, asks the honour of your good graces, and who will
be

be all his life one of your most obedient and zealous servants.

ROCHESTER."

Lord Rochester to the Prince of Orange.— Advises him to remove the Duke of Monmouth from Holland.

"I GIVE your Highness most humble thanks for the favourable expressions you are pleased to use towards me, in two letters of the 10th and 13th instant, that your Highness had lately honoured me with, and since you are pleased to encourage me in the freedom with which I spoke to Mons. d'Overkirke and writ to your Highness, I think it agreeable to your mind, as well as to your service that I should continue it; and therefore I beg leave to say this to you, as a thing that I cannot but think the King would take well of you, though I have not his orders to say so much; and it is in relation to the Duke of Monmouth, who is said to be always very near the Hague, if not in it: upon which I would offer you this in short, that as it cannot be for your Highness's service that it should be imagined he is there with your privy, so it may be presumed, that considering the authority your Highness hath, and the good intelligence you cannot be supposed to want, that he can be there, and your Highness not know it. I hope your Highness will not be offended with me for stating the matter in this manner, which I may do the better, because I do not suspect your Highness is privy to his being there; but then, methinks, your Highness might let every body see, that if you knew he were so near you, it would be very disagreeable to you; the consequence of which would be, that he could not stay long there. I do not believe the King hath the intention of driving him from country to country, and to make all places uneasy to him; but, on the other hand, it is not at all necessary, nor in truth decent, considering the circumstances he hath put him-

self in, that he should be hovering just over against England, and as it were always in a readiness to transport himself. Your Highness may be pleased to make the best use you think fit of this humble advice that I presume to offer you; it is only for yourself I mention it, and I am rather induced to it by your own commands to me, to advertise your Highness of any thing that I think you might do that would be agreeable to the King, and by an expression in your own letter to me, that you do not love to do things by halves; and so I leave it to your Highness's judgment with all the submission that I owe.

Whitehall, April the 14th, 1685."

These letters from James and Lord Rochester to the Prince of Orange, were soon followed by the King's recalling the Prince's favourite Mr. Sidney (afterwards Earl of Romney) from Holland, where he commanded the British troops in the Dutch service, and had been envoy from England; and by the appointment of Mr. Skelton to be envoy there. It appears from Barillon's letter to his court 29th March 1685, that Skelton had orders from James to act in concert with d'Avaux, the French ambassador at the Hague, and from others of Barillon's letters, that Skelton was always ready to irritate James against the Prince of Orange. The Prince therefore remonstrated against both measures, but afterwards submitted. A copy of his letter to King James on this subject is in his box, as follows.

Prince of Orange to James the Second.

A Fortlandyck, ce 25 Juin, 1685.

"JE n'aurois pas manqué d'avoir répondu à la lettre que votre Majesté m'a fait l'honneur de m'écrire par le dernier ordinaire, si Monsieur de Sidney n'avoit été sur son départ. Je ne puis dissimuler à votre Majesté que j'aurois fort souhaité qu'elle eu trouvé bon de
l'avoir

In the Depot.

In King William's box.

l'avoir laissé icy ; puisque je la puis asseurer, qu'il n'a jamais eu de ministre en ce pais qui y a mieux réussi, et qui lui a rendu de plus fidels services ; il est impossible aussi qu'il y aye personne qui soit plus zélé pour son service, dequoi je puis repondre ; et ce sont là les raisons qui me le font fort regretter et tous les honnetes gens du pais ; et qui m'ont obligé à luy donner le reglement de feu Mr. le Comte d'Offeri, et le commandement des troupes en chef des sujets de votre Majesté qui sont en ce service, messieurs, les Etats n'ayant point trouvé bon en ce tems de paix de disposer de la charge de general, dequoi Monsieur Sidney informera plus particulièrement votré Majesté, et de ce qui s'est passé en cette affaire ; ne doutant pas qu'elle n'approuve le choix que j'ay fait, puisqu' asseurement je n'aurois peu trouver personne qui lui auroit été plus fidele, ni plus attaché à ses interests : de quoy j'ose demeurer guarand. Je supplie votre Majesté de ne point trouver mauvais que je luy presente de nouveau, le tort qu'elle feroit à ses interests en ce pais si elle y envoie Monsieur Skelton. Je n'ay rien contre sa personne, et même veux croire qu'on luy a fait tort de quoy on l'accuse : mais c'est un chose que l'on n'otera jamais icy des esprits des gens, et j'ai encore d'autres raisons, surquoy je me suis expliqué au long, en un lettre que j'ay escrit l'ordinaire passé à milord Hyde, laquelle sans doute il aura communiqué à votre Majesté : ainsi j'espère qu'elle ne me voudra point donner cette mortification, d'envoyer ici quelqu'on avec lequel je ne pouvois point vivre en bonne intelligence : cela n'empêchera pourtant pas que je ne tache à servir votre Majesté avec la même ardeur et application que j'ay toujours fait : et il n'y a rien qui puisse arriver, qui me fasse changer l'inclination fixe et l'attachement que j'ay pour ses interests : et je serois l'homme du monde le plus malheureux si elle n'en étoit entierement persuadé, et qu'elle n'eut la bonté de me continuer un peu de part en ses bonnes grâces ; puisque je serai jusqu'au dernier soupir de ma vie, avec plus de zele et de fidelité que qui que ce soit de

Votré Majesté, &c."

Translation.

Prince of Orange to James the Second. — Remonstrates against recalling Sidney, and sending Skelton as envoy to Holland.

Fortlaerdyke, June 25th, 1685.

“**I** Would not have failed to have answered the letter which your Majesty did me the honour to write me by last post, if Mr. Sidney had not been going away. I cannot dissemble with your Majesty that I could have wished your Majesty had thought proper to have left him here; since I can assure you that there never was a minister in this country who succeeded better, or who did you more faithful services; it is also impossible that any person can be more zealous for your service, for which I can answer. And these are the reasons which made me and all the honest people of this country regret him, and which have obliged me to give him the regiment of the deceased Earl of Ossory, and the command in chief of your Majesty’s subjects in this service, the States not having thought proper in this time of peace, to dispose of the charge of General, of which Mr. Sidney will inform your Majesty more particularly, of what has passed here upon that affair. I doubt not your Majesty will approve of the choice I have made, since assuredly I could not have found a person who would have been more faithful to your interests, for which I will remain his pledge. I intreat your Majesty not to take it amiss, that I represent to you anew the hurt you will do your interest in this country, if you send Mr. Skelton to it. I have nothing to say against his person, and am even inclined to believe they did him wrong in what he was accused of, but it is a thing that never can be removed from the imaginations of people here; and I have besides other reasons, upon which I explained myself at large, in a letter which I wrote last

last post to my Lord Hyde, which, without doubt, he will have communicated to your Majesty; so that I hope you will not mortify me so far, as to send any one here with whom I cannot live in good intelligence. That, however, will not prevent me from endeavouring to serve your Majesty with the same ardour and application which I have always done, and nothing can happen which can make me change the fixed inclination and attachment which I have for your interests; and I should be the most unhappy man in the world if you was not persuaded of it, and should not have the goodness to continue me a little in your good graces, since I shall be, to the last breath of my life, with more zeal and fidelity than any one can be,

Your Majesty's, &c.

The following letters from King James to the Prince of Orange during the Duke of Monmouth's rebellion, are in King William's box.

James the II^d to the Prince of Orange.—Warns him of Monmouth's intention to rebel.

St. James's, April 28, 1685.

I Received yours of the 30th, by the last post, but had not time to let you know it on Friday last; and by letters, which came over by the same packet, have it confirmed to me, that some of the fugitive rebels, which have lurked long in Holland, have had a meeting with the Duke of Monmouth there very privately, and have some design in hand on Scotland, or elsewhere, and that they have bought arms, and are sending them by the way of Amsterdam, for the West Highlands of Scotland, with an intention of making a raising there; but of this Skelton will give you a further account; and this day I spoke to the ambassadors here about the rebels and fugitives that are there, that
the

they may be sent away out of the country, according to what is stipulated in the treaty, which, I hope, you will get done, it being very necessary to have those turbulent traitors driven out of Holland, which is all I have to say now, but to assure you, I shall always be as kind to you as you can desire.

James the II^d to the Prince of Orange.—On the same subject.

St. James's, May 5, 1685.

I SEE by the last letter I had from you from Loo, of the 9th of this month, that you were to go very soon to the Hague. I hope that the ships which were to have sailed from the Texel, with cannon, arms, and ammunition for Scotland, have been stopped by your's or the States orders, before they got out, or that some vessels I have sent that way may have met them; you see how busy and restless that rebellious party are. I hear that Lord Argyle is already gone for Scotland, and that the Duke of Monmouth has designed to go either after him, or come over hither into England, in a short time, to make, if he can, some disturbance; but I am preparing for him and the other in both kingdoms. I have reason to believe the Duke of Monmouth is still in Holland, either at Rotterdam or Amsterdam. The parliament in Scotland have settled the Excise and Customs upon the crown for ever: 'tis a good beginning. I have not time to say more now, but to assure you, you shall always find me very kind to you.





